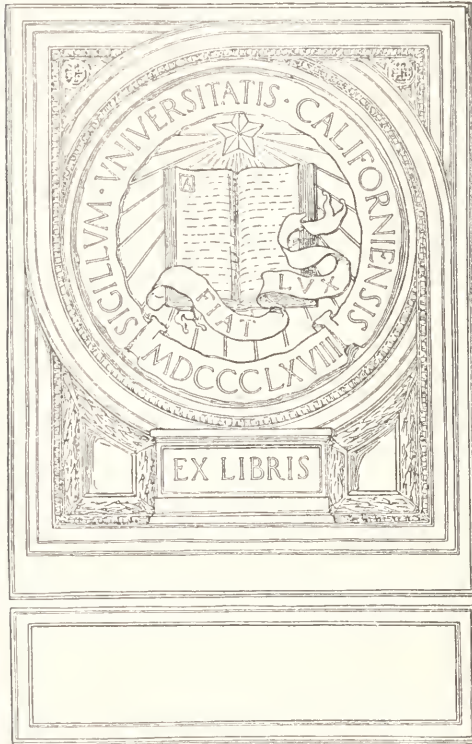




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A  
MANUAL  
OF  
Monumental Brasses.







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JOHN TRILLECK, BISHOP, 1360.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.



A  
M A N U A L  
OF  
Monumental Brasses:

COMPRISING AN  
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THESE MEMORIALS  
AND  
A LIST OF THOSE REMAINING IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

With Two Hundred Illustrations.

BY THE  
REV. HERBERT HAINES, M.A.,  
OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD; SECOND MASTER OF THE COLLEGE SCHOOL,  
AND CHAPLAIN OF THE COUNTY ASYLUM, GLOUCESTER.

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“ . . . . EXPRESSI VULTUS PER AHENEA SIGNA,  
. . . . MORES ANIMIQUE VIRORUM  
CLARORUM APPARENT.”—HORAT. EPIST. II. 1.

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PART I.

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Oxford and London:  
J. H. AND JAS. PARKER.  
1861.

(With the Sanction of the Oxford Architectural Society.)



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8-18-39 February 20

## P R E F A C E.

ALTHOUGH several complete accounts have recently been published of various branches of mediæval archæology in England, no work has appeared which has attempted to give a full description of our Monumental Brasses. And yet they seem to deserve the especial attention of the antiquary, not only from their intrinsic interest, but also as forming a class of monuments now almost peculiar to this country. The volumes of Gough, Waller, Manning, Boutell, the Cambridge Camden and Oxford Architectural Societies, the illustrations of brasses of particular counties by Fisher, Cotman, Hudson, Kite, and the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, although several of them are of a very elaborate character, have made known but a portion only of these memorials. In the following pages it has been the object of the writer to remedy in some degree this deficiency. It consists of two parts,—an Introduction to the study of Monumental Brasses, and a List of examples remaining in the British Isles,—each part being designed mutually to illustrate the other, and the whole to form as complete a history, as could be given in a moderate compass, of the monumental brasses of our country.

The former part is based on the Introduction written by the author for the "Manual for the Study of Monumental Brasses, and Descriptive Catalogue of Rubbings," issued about twelve years ago by the Oxford Architectural Society. This Introduction has been

revised and enlarged throughout, especially in the notes, and a considerable portion of it entirely re-written. Very numerous additional engravings by Mr. R. B. Utting have been inserted, and lists of brasses have been introduced to assist archæologists in forming selections of such rubbings as will throw light upon the various costumes or other peculiarities illustrative of the history of our ancestors. Owing to these additions, the amount of letter-press has been doubled, and the number of illustrations increased nearly fourfold.

In the List, or second part of the work, the compiler has endeavoured to give as accurate and comprehensive an account as possible of the *present* state of the Monumental Brasses of our country. He has therefore himself examined such rubbings of brasses as his own and his friends' collections contain, and distinguished the descriptions of these from those of others, (about one-sixth of the entire number,) the accuracy of which he has been unable to verify from actual observation. Various authorities both printed and in manuscript have also been consulted. In order to render this part of the volume serviceable to the genealogist and antiquary, an analysis of the various inscriptions on brasses has been given, and notices of many brasses consisting of inscriptions only, inserted. Although many, if not most, of these epitaphs and descriptions of the brasses may be found at length in the county histories, and other topographical works, yet their reproduction in an abbreviated form in this volume will probably prove acceptable to those engaged in archæological researches. The inaccurate manner in which names and dates are frequently copied will alone render an additional authority desirable. Besides this, the want of familiarity with the peculiarities of our sepulchral monuments has hitherto prevented the historian from fixing the precise date, or correctly appropriating brasses, of which the inscriptions are

defective or removed; the result has been that many are either incorrectly described, or else wholly unnoticed by topographical writers<sup>a</sup>. It is hoped that the present List will, to a certain extent, supply this omission, and also by directing attention to monumental brasses, serve to arrest the mutilation or destruction of them which is even now frequently taking place, especially during the repair or restoration of our churches<sup>b</sup>.

The List contains notices of upwards of three thousand two hundred brasses with figures, &c., and twelve hundred inscriptions and fragments; yet, no doubt, several brasses remain which have not come under the observation of the author: he therefore trusts to be enabled to bring out, at some future period, an Appendix, containing a list of such corrections and additions as his own researches and the communications of others may supply.

The acknowledgments of the author are especially due to the President and Committee of the Oxford Architectural Society, for the sanction they have kindly given to the publication of this volume.

For the loan of engravings he is indebted to the liberality of the Committees of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural and Surrey Archæological Societies, to J. R. D. Tyssen, Esq., J. Gough Nichols, Esq., A. W. Franks, Esq., and particularly to the Messrs. Parker the publishers.

He desires also to express his obligations to the Rev. C. R. Manning, for placing at his disposal a collection of memoranda relating to brasses; to H. N. Evans, Esq., for many valuable suggestions during the progress of the work; to Messrs. Hardman and Messrs. Waller, for a list of the principal modern brasses engraved by

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<sup>a</sup> See, for example, the account of the brass at Long Ditton, Surrey; also Introduction, p. lxii. note r.

<sup>b</sup> See pp. cclviii.—cclx.

them; to A. W. Franks, Esq., J. B. Nichols, Esq., Rev. J. A. Boodle, Rev. H. Addington, Rev. J. R. Lunn, Rev. W. C. Lukis, Rev. E. Trollope (Secretary of the Lincolnshire Architectural Society), C. Spence, Esq., R. H. Clutterbuck, Esq., T. L. Peak, Esq., W. H. King, Esq., for allowing him to inspect their collections of rubbings, and for other kind assistance; also to Mr. L'Estrange (of Norwich), F. S. Growse, Esq., C. G. R. Birch, Esq., Rev. G. S. Master, Rev. G. Mackarness, Rev. E. S. Taylor (of Ormesby), Rev. J. Beck, Rev. H. Fielding, Rev. John Ward, W. W. King, Esq., C. Kerry, Esq., Mr. W. Swift, to a large proportion of the subscribers, and to numerous clergymen, for communications, &c., respecting the brasses in their several neighbourhoods.

GLOUCESTER,  
*Oct. 16th, 1860.*

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PART I.

AN INTRODUCTION

TO THE STUDY OF

**M o n u m e n t a l B r a s s e s .**



AN  
INTRODUCTION  
TO THE STUDY OF  
MONUMENTAL BRASSES.

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HE Monumental Effigies of England may be divided into three classes: first, Sculptured Effigies, i. e. figures either complete or in low relief, made generally of stone, but sometimes of wood or copper; secondly, representations engraved or incised, usually on flat plates of brass inlaid in stone slabs, or more rarely cut on the stone slabs themselves; thirdly, figures painted on glass or on wooden tablets. These three classes, although they differ so much in the material used, and in the mode in which this material is made expressive, will be found very similar in general design. The incised memorials forming the second class may indeed be considered merely imitations of the sculptured effigies on a flat surface, and the progressive history of the art shews that such was their origin<sup>a</sup>.

Of these, Sculptured Effigies hold the first rank, by reason of their higher antiquity, their greater size, and the labour, skill, and taste required for their execution. On account of their costliness they

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<sup>a</sup> Some monuments unite in themselves two or more of these classes, as at Tideswell, Derbyshire, where there is a recumbent emaciated figure of stone, and on a slab above a representation of the Holy Trinity, with a marginal inscription in brass to Sampson Meverell, 1462. Effigies wrought in other materials besides the above-mentioned are occasionally to be met with. At Burford, Shropshire, is a *lead*en plate engraved with a figure, triple canopy, and inscription commemorating Elizabeth, wife of Sir Richard Corbet, 1506 or 1516. *Iron* slabs were also employed as sepulchral memorials, especially in the mining districts, and particularly in

Sussex. At Burwash, in that county, is an iron slab with a small cross, and inscription to the memory of John Colins. It is figured in Boutell's *Chr. Mon.*, p. 105. At Crowhurst, Surrey, is a shrouded figure and inscription to Ann Forster, 1591, cast in iron; and a mural tablet of the same material at Camborne, Cornwall, bears the kneeling figure of Alexander Pendarves, Esq., 1655, with accompanying shield and inscription. In Lingfield Church, Surrey, are two indented effigies, c. 1480? each composed of three *tiles*, and apparently of foreign workmanship. See the engraving and description in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. vi. p. 177.

were chiefly confined to persons of rank and wealth: thus figures of Priests below the dignity of Abbots, and of civilians, are rare; especially after the date of the introduction of brasses. To the antiquarian, however, and the ecclesiologist, Monumental Brasses, which it is the object of the present Essay to illustrate, possess advantages which render them in some respects even more interesting than effigies in sculpture: for although they cannot take the same high rank as works of art, and are usually destitute of the expressiveness of colour<sup>b</sup>, and also, from their nature, represent but one side of the figure<sup>c</sup>, yet, admitting as they do of every gradation of size and expense<sup>d</sup>, they have been used as the memorials of all ranks in society, and we find accordingly that they present a corresponding variety of costume. Some of them, indeed, from their elegance of design, beauty, and delicacy of execution, and minuteness of detail, might even be considered to rival effigies in relief, especially if these qualities could still be seen heightened by the addition of their original gilding and enamel<sup>e</sup>. The costly and elaborately carved altar-tombs on which those of the wealthy were mounted, and the rich canopies of stone so often reared over them, shew the high estimation in which they were held. The fine tombs of Lady Percy in Beverley Minster, and Bishop de Luda in Ely Cathedral, now despoiled of their brasses, are good instances of the truth of the above remarks.

There is one quality indeed, of the highest value to a sepulchral memorial, which brasses possess in a degree beyond all others. Their durability is so great, that under every disadvantage of situation some of them have for nearly six centuries preserved their original accuracy of outline and shading; still does their "witness live in brass<sup>f</sup>,"

<sup>b</sup> Sculptured effigies were almost always coloured, although few of them now retain any traces of it.

<sup>c</sup> The figures on brasses are very commonly turned sideways, and thus display nearly the whole costume: many such instances will be pointed out hereafter.

<sup>d</sup> At Durham Cathedral a slab, now despoiled of the brass of Bp. Beaumont, 1318, measures 16 ft. by 9 ft.; that of Bp. Haselshawe, 1308, at Wells, 15 ft. by 6 ft. 4 in.; its effigy was 9 feet long. On the other hand, the effigies of a brass at Cheam, Surrey, are only 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches in height.

<sup>e</sup> On the brass of Lord Berkeley, at Wootton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, the end of his belt, and the fillet around the forehead of his lady, appear from the cavities left on their surface, to have been ornamented with jewels, either real or imitative.

<sup>f</sup> Shaksp., Hen. V., act. iv. se. 3. The following instances well exemplify the superior durability of brasses when compared with stone effigies. In the Cathedral of Erfurt is a memorial of a canon, John de Heringen, 1505, having the upper part of the figure "engraved upon a plate of brass measuring 2 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 1 ft. 11 in., while the lower is

a faithful record of those whom they commemorate. It will frequently be found in our country churches that the brasses are the oldest memorials that have survived.

But it is the frequent preservation of the inscriptions on brasses, fixing the date of their execution, which renders them so peculiarly valuable to the student of archæology. "The chief advantage which is to be derived from an assemblage of examples, such as the numerous sepulchral monuments which exist in England present, arises from the evidences which they supply towards forming a key to the chronology of art; evidences which, taken in combination, will almost invariably suffice to fix with precision the date of any works of painting or sculpture, or of the productions of the enameller, the limner, and the worker in metals<sup>g</sup>, as well as the country where they were executed. Without such an aid, the investigation of the numerous and ingenious artistic processes which were in use during the middle ages would be deprived of all its real interest<sup>h</sup>." And this observation may be extended to other sister arts; for "it were needless to commend the value of these memorials to the genealogist, as authentic contemporary evidences<sup>i</sup>; to the herald also, as examples of ancient usage in bearing arms, and of the peculiarities of heraldic design, which supply to the practised eye sure indications of date; or as authorities for the appropriation of badges and personal devices." "As specimens of palæography, moreover, the inscriptions deserve attention, and supply authorities which fix the distinctive form of

sculpture in low relief in the slab of stone into which the brass is inserted. . . . The stone portion of the figure is extremely worn." Alex. Nesbitt, Esq., in *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xi. p. 170. In the same church is a similar example. "Of this, probably the memorial of a canon of the cathedral, only the head, a chalice, and an escutcheon are in brass; the remainder of the figure and the inscription were incised on a soft stone, and have been almost entirely obliterated." *Ibid.*, vol. x. p. 169. At the destruction of Camberwell Church by fire in 1841, "The brasses were saved, but the mural monuments, with the exception of the figure of Lady Hunt, fell from their places, and were entirely consumed, or rendered so friable by the action of the fire as to be reduced to powder on the slightest touch." Allport's *Camberwell*, p. 173. The brass of John Berrie, 1586,

now preserved at St. Mary Magdalen's, Fish-street, London, was dug out of the ruins of the church after the fire of London in 1666.

<sup>g</sup> Much information on the form of the chalice has of late been derived from the study of various brasses.

<sup>h</sup> Albert Way, Esq., in *Archæological Journal*, vol. i. p. 198.

<sup>i</sup> On a brass affixed to the north wall of the chancel of Finchley Church, Middx., is an extract from the will of Thomas Samy, 1509. At Wendover, Bucks., the brass of William Bradshawe and wife, 1537, has the effigies of nine children, and under them genealogical tables of their respective issue. Brasses of a similar character exist at Maidstone, Kent, 1593, Otley, Yorks., 1593, and Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire, 1600. Genealogical brasses were not uncommon in Germany.

letter used at certain periods, conformable for the most part to that which is found in the legends on painted glass, on seals<sup>k</sup>," and on manuscripts.

An accomplished critic of the last century remarks, "that the seals of our English monarchs from the reign of Henry III. display the taste of architecture which respectively prevailed under several subsequent reigns, and consequently convey as at one comprehensive view the series of its successive revolutions; insomuch that if no real models remained, they would be sufficient to shew the modes and alterations of the buildings in England. In these each king is represented sitting enshrined under a sumptuous pile of architecture<sup>l</sup>;" &c. If this be true of seals, how much more applicable is it to brasses, whose greater number and larger size admit of their exhibiting on the beautiful canopies, with the most minute accuracy, the gradations of architectural style. And if, besides this, it be remembered that brasses very often record the names and deaths of the founders, and even the date of erection, of churches or their parts<sup>m</sup>, it must be granted that no remaining monuments of former days can in this point of view exceed them in interest and usefulness. It may suffice here to allude merely to two advantages of different kinds possessed also by brasses; first, that they occupy no space in our churches; and secondly, the ease with which transcripts of perfect accuracy may be taken by those who are entirely unskilled in drawing. In short, a careful survey of a series of the monumental brasses of this country would enable one to follow the gradual changes of manners and habits, to track the prominent feelings, and even to detect the religious emotions peculiar to each age: for not only the figure, its attitude, and costume, but the inscription, and the subordinate parts of the design, all conspire to furnish a lively picture of the individual and his times.

In the following sketch it is proposed to endeavour to trace the origin of brasses, by an enquiry into the monuments that preceded them; to furnish an account of the material of which they were made, and the introduction of it and of its manufacture into England; to give some details of their execution, of the peculiarities

<sup>k</sup> Arch. Journ., vol. i. p. 197.

<sup>l</sup> Warton's Obs. on Spenser, 1807, vol. ii. p. 220.

<sup>m</sup> For a list of some of these, see Appendix C. below.

which distinguish those of England and the Continent, and of their distribution over different parts of Europe, and this country in particular; to describe some criteria of their dates, and some practices in the mode of placing them in churches<sup>a</sup>; to furnish some notice of their cost; to give a general description of the designs on them, comprising the figure, the ecclesiastical and judicial vestments, and the accessorial devices; and lastly, a history of the successive changes in execution, ornament, and costume.

The question of the origin of brasses as sepulchral memorials, and the time when they were first used for such purposes, is, as might be expected, involved in much obscurity. The only materials for such an enquiry are a few scattered notices, from which, at the present day, it is perhaps impossible to arrive at any positive information: but it may throw some light on the subject to trace, in few words, the progress of two forms of memorial which were in use before we find any record of brasses, and which in several respects were nearly allied to them. These two are, Incised slabs of stone, and "Limoges enamels."

The earliest examples of Incised stones which have been noticed may probably be referred to a period not later than the eighth century; they consist of crosses and runic characters cut on small tablets. In the "Archæologia<sup>o</sup>" are described and represented some which have recently been discovered at Hartlepool. Several crosses with inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries, are engraved in Petrie's "Eccles. Architecture of Ireland<sup>p</sup>;" one of these is of the date 890, or 891, and commemorates Suibine, son of Mailae humai. Of a somewhat later date is an interesting monument, figured in Borlase's "Cornwall<sup>q</sup>," consisting of a flat stone with a cross incised upon it, and used at once as an altar and a memorial, as it bears the inscription, LEUIUT (i. e. sailor or pilot) JUSIT HEC ALTARE PRO ANIMA SUA.

On all these the letters and devices are cut into the stone; but we find more numerous remains of the same or an earlier date, on which

<sup>a</sup> Brasses were occasionally placed on the exterior walls of churches, as at Whitechurch, Oxon.; Little Budworth, Cheshire; Houghton Conquest, Beds. The brasses are lost at the two last mentioned churches.

<sup>o</sup> Vol. xxvi. p. 480. pl. 52.

<sup>p</sup> Pp. 136-7, 320, seq.

<sup>q</sup> Ch. xii. pl. xxx. fig. 6. The engraving is reproduced in Gough's Camden's Britannia, vol. i. pl. 1. p. 11.

the intervals are cut out, so as to leave the design standing up in relief; a raised border being also left as an ornament and protection. Of this kind are the upright crosses or obelisks so common in Wales and Scotland, and also found in England; many of which are highly ornamented with interlaced patterns and figures<sup>r</sup>.

In the times succeeding the Norman Conquest another step was made in the progress of sepulchral memorials, which was the addition to the cross and inscription of some device betokening the profession or occupation of the deceased: such as a chalice or book for a Priest, a sword, shield, or bow for a Warrior, a horn for a Hunter, shears for a Clothier or Female, &c. About the same period it was very common to place upon the stone coffins coped lids, sometimes plain, at others bearing in relief small figures in medallions or ornamented crosses.

Towards the twelfth century, we find for the first time an attempt made to represent the figure of the person commemorated, by *effigy* in low relief on the *coffin lid*, the raised border being still retained; good examples of which are, an Abbot ("Gislebertus Crispinus, Abbas, 1114"?) in the cloisters at Westminster, and Bishops Roger and Jocelin, 1139, 1184, in Salisbury Cathedral. In these, a portion of the design is represented by lines *incised* on the raised figure<sup>s</sup>.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was a common practice to place on coffin lids the face, or the upper half of the figure, either above the cross, or in its head: and on these, as well as on those containing the professional devices, the designs are found sometimes in relief and sometimes incised. The well-known monument at Bitton, Gloucestershire, probably of Sir Walter de Bitton, 1228, affords an example of both methods united; for the upper portion of the figure is in low relief, and the lower is portrayed by incised lines on the flat stone; thus exhibiting distinctly the transition from bas-relief to the flat engraved effigy; which from this period

<sup>r</sup> The two "pyramids" at Glastonbury, mentioned by William of Malmesbury, on the oldest of which were figures of a priest and king, and on the other the names of Centwine, (king of Wessex, 685,) Hedde, (Bp. of Winton, 705,) and others, are probably among the earliest of these memorials whose dates are ascertained. Will. Malm., (Lond. Hist. Soc.), p. 35. Many interesting exam-

ples of early Scottish monuments are figured in the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," a beautiful volume printed for the Spalding Club, 1856.

<sup>s</sup> In the *Antiq. Repert.*, vol. iv. p. 460, is engraved a representation of the Crucifixion incised on a mutilated stone. It was found in an old chapel in the Isle of Man, and was supposed to be a coffin-lid.



in England seems gradually to have supplanted figures in low relief. Very early flat effigies of knights in mail remain at Avenbury, Herefordshire<sup>t</sup>, St. Bride's, Glamorganshire<sup>u</sup>, and Ashington, Somerset<sup>v</sup>, all probably of the end of the thirteenth century. It is probable that this change arose from the inconvenience and obstruction produced by raised stones on the pavement of churches; for although such effigies in low relief were discontinued, yet figures in full, which were necessarily raised on altar-tombs, continued for centuries to be much used by the wealthy<sup>x</sup>.

The art of enamelling metals appears to have been introduced from Byzantium through Venice into Western Europe, at the close of the tenth century<sup>y</sup>. This kind of manufacture, called from the town where it was principally made, "*Cœuvres de Limoges*," "*Opus de Limogiâ*," or "*Lemovicinum*,"<sup>z</sup> was soon much employed for sacred vessels, crosses, pastoral staves, reliquaries, &c. Its use was not, however, long confined to such utensils, for we find that the monument of Geoffrey Plantagenet, le Bel, 1150<sup>a</sup>, which was in the Church of St. Julien at Le Mans, but is now in the museum of the same place, consists of a quadrangular plate of copper with an enamelled effigy upon it, resting on a diapered background, beneath a semicircular

<sup>t</sup> Engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi.

<sup>u</sup> See *Arch. Journ.*, vol. ii. p. 383.

<sup>v</sup> Engraved in the *Gent. Mag.*, 1820, pt. ii. p. 209, pl. 11, and in *Arch. Journ.*, vol. viii. p. 319. In the latter work are engraved some similar foreign incised slabs; those of Simon de Montfort, (?) 1218, in the Cathedral of Carcassonne, in France, (vol. xii. p. 280,) and Brochardus de Charpignie, interred at Paphos, in Cyprus, (vol. x. p. 363; see also p. 128.) At Bamberg Cathedral is an incised slab to Otto, or Otho, twelfth bishop of that city, 1192. "The head and mitre, hands and feet, were engraved on pieces of metal, or of stone or marble, let into the slab; these unfortunately have been lost, and only the matrices remain." *Arch. Journ.*, vol. ix. p. 190. In Carisbrooke Church, Isle of Wight, is a very early slab, of an ecclesiastic holding a pastoral staff, and at Vale Crucis Abbey, near Llangollen, North Wales, an engraved effigy in the armour of the early part of the fourteenth century. Another of the same date exists at Inchmahome, Scotland: see Drum-

mond's *History of Noble British Families*, vol. ii.

<sup>x</sup> At Hitchenden, Bucks., are three stone figures of knights in low relief, of a late date. They are engraved in Langley's *Desborough*, p. 301.

<sup>y</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, vol. ii. p. 169.

<sup>z</sup> Ducange, voc. "*Limogia*." On the Continent, monuments in low relief were retained to a very low period: most of these, however, may be called incised slabs, for the background is cut out so as to leave the figure, canopy, and marginal inscription at the same height as the face of the slab, and consequently on a level with the pavement. A brass of this description exists at Posen Cathedral, Poland, 1475; *Arch. Journ.*, vol. x. p. 250. The effigies in alto-relief were placed on altar-tombs, and many, especially in Germany, are to be found fixed upright against the walls.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Planché, in a paper contributed to vol. i. of the *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, suggests (p. 31) that it may represent William d'Evereux, or Fitz Patrick, Earl of Salisbury, 1196.

canopy, and with an inscription at the top. It is the subject of the second plate of Stothard's "Monumental Effigies;" who mentions a similar enamelled plate to Ulger, Bishop of Angers, 1149, as formerly existing in the Church of St. Maurice in that city, but destroyed in the French Revolution. An enamelled plate of a similar kind, engraved in Willemin's *Mon. Inédits*, commemorating a son of St. Louis, 1247, is preserved in the Church of St. Denys<sup>b</sup>. We learn also from Montfaucon<sup>c</sup> that many such enamelled monuments, both in full relief and flat, did exist in French churches; but they have met with the usual fate. Drawings of a few, taken under the direction of M. de Gaignières, are preserved in the Gough Collections at the Bodleian. Among them is a fine example from the Abbey Church of Toüy, representing Abp. Symon de Beaulieu, 1297<sup>d</sup>. The earliest instance recorded of the use of enamelled metal for monumental purposes in this country is the tomb of Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, 1277, in the Cathedral Church<sup>d</sup>. This was destroyed by the puritans; and it cannot now be ascertained whether it was in relief or flat. Examples, however, still remain at Westminster Abbey, on the effigy of William, Earl of Pembroke, 1296, probably of foreign execution; and at Canterbury on that of Edward the Black Prince, 1376, and on the shields around it.

It seems certain, then, that enamelled plates of metal were employed for sepulchral memorials more than half a century before the date of the earliest recorded brass, 1208; and this fact renders it probable that the use of Limoges works led the way to the employment of brass plates on the ground. Several circumstances tend to confirm this view: for

First, from the size and character of the foreign examples there can be little doubt that brasses were made and laid down on the Continent before they were used in England.

Secondly, these foreign brasses are usually like the Limoges

<sup>b</sup> Gloss. of Archit., art. "Brasses."

<sup>c</sup> Mon. de la Monarchie Franc., tom. ii. p. 160, seq.

<sup>d</sup> In the accounts of his executors there is this entry:—"Et computant £xl. v.s. vi.d. liberat' Magistro Johanni Limoviensi pro tumba dicti Episcopi Roffensis; scilicet, pro constructione et carriagio de Lymoges ad Roffiam; et xl.s. viij.d. cuidam executori apud

Lymoges ad ordinandum et providendum constructionem dicte tumbæ; et x.s. viij.d. cuidam gacioni eunti apud Lymoges querenti dictam tumbam constructam et ducenti eam cum dieto Magistro Johanne usque Roffiam." The cost of the whole with carriage was £67 14s. 6d. Thorpe's Custum. Roffense, p. 193.

enamelled plates in their form, which is quadrangular, and in having their backgrounds diapered<sup>e</sup>. To which may be added, that the small figures on the sides of some enamelled shrines are very similar to brasses<sup>f</sup>.

Thirdly, we find such a similarity in design between some of the Limoges works and the contemporary incised stones in France, as to shew an intimate communion of ideas between their several artists, while the resemblance between these foreign incised slabs and the brasses of the same date is so strong, as to make it evident that the workmen of both wrought from one and the same design.

Many of the foreign incised slabs may be regarded as enamelled works in stone. A very interesting example is figured in the *Archaeological Journal*, and described by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt. It lies in one of the chapels of the Cathedral of Meaux, not far from Paris, and represents Jehan Rose, citizen of Meaux, and his wife, who died respectively in 1328 and 1367. The figures are placed beneath canopies with figures of angels above. Advantage has been taken of the very dark colour of the stone "to produce an effective contrast of colour by inlaying pieces of white marble (?) or alabaster, forming the figures of the angels, the heads, busts, hands, and feet of the persons commemorated, and the animals on which their feet are placed. The remaining part of the figures was formed by cutting out the ground, (like the field of a Limoges champ-levé enamel,) lines of the stone being left to indicate the folds of the garments ;

<sup>e</sup> The earliest brass of which we know the design, is that of Philip and John, the two sons of Louis VIII., who reigned from 1223 to 1226. This plate, which exhibits the characters mentioned above, is engraved in Montfaucon's *Mon. de la Monarchie Franc.*, tom. ii. pl. 18. p. 120.

<sup>f</sup> As examples may be mentioned one in the British Museum, another in the *Mns. of Econ. Geol.*, London, and another at Shipley Church engraved in *Dallaway's Sussex*, vol. ii. p. 304. These early enamels shew the "champ-levé," i. e. the copper is raised into ridges of partition between the colours. A similar method is seen on the dresses of brasses, especially towards the end of the fifteenth century and later, e. g. Bromham, Wils., c. 1490; Hambleden, Bucks., 1492? St. Peter's, Colchester, 1553, and Narburgh, Norfolk, 1556.

In *Duncumb's Collect. for Herefordshire*, vol. i. p. 549, there is an engraving of the enamelled shrine of King Ethelbert at Hereford, on which the heads of the figures are raised. In the fine brass of Eric Merwed, King of Denmark, and his Queen Ingeborg, 1319, at Ringstæd Church, in the Island of Zealand, the heads and hands of the figures were of a different material, probably white marble in low relief, let into the plate. These inlaid portions were lost when the brass was examined a few years ago by B. H. Beedham, Esq., of Kimbolton, to whom the author is indebted for the foregoing particulars. On the foreign incised slabs, the head, hands, and other parts of the design are occasionally found in relief, and of a different coloured stone inlaid in the ordinary slab.

the lines and ornaments of the canopy and the letters of the inscription were cut out in the same manner, and the hollows thus formed were filled with a white composition, some fragments of which still remain<sup>g</sup>.”

But in some slabs a nearer approach to enamelling was attained by the use of materials of several different colours. In the collegiate Church of Nôtre Dame at St. Omer, in France, is an elaborate memorial of an ecclesiastic, Sir Simon Bocheux, 1462. It consists of a blue stone incised and filled with white mastic; the ornaments of the vestments, marginal inscription, and evangelistic symbols are of yellow stone incised and filled with a red composition. The face and hands are of white marble, and together with a chalice of brass, have the incised lines filled up with black mastic. Among the collection of drawings before alluded to as existing in the Bodleian are representations of several monuments of abbots in the Abbey of Jumiege, in Normandy, and apparently of similar workmanship to the slab at St. Omer. The figures, which are probably all of the same date, are vested in white albs and red chasubles; the several ornaments, pastoral staves, and inscriptions seem to be of brass. In the same collection is a drawing of an early incised slab in the choir of the Abbey of St. Victor, at Paris, commemorating Adenulphus de Agnama, a canon of Paris. In this example the ornaments only of the vestments, and a few fleur-de-lys sprinkled over the stone, are of brass.

A memorial lately lying in the ruins of the Cistercian Abbey of Villers, in Brabant, shews a still closer connection between the incised slab and the monumental brass. The figure, most artistically drawn, has the lines, usually incised on a brass, in relief, the intervening spaces having been hollowed out and inlaid with thin plates of copper enamelled. The canopy is quite unrivalled: the inscription, on brass, ran in the arch of the pediment, the spandril of which is occupied by a figure of Christ or some saint, seated on a throne, in brass<sup>h</sup>. These monuments being partly brasses and partly incised slabs, with inlaid work resembling enamelling, may be considered as

<sup>g</sup> Arch. Journ., vol. ix. p. 384.

<sup>h</sup> The author is indebted to Mr. W. H. J. Weale, of Bruges, for an account of this slab and that at St. Omer, and also for several particulars relating to

foreign brasses. Much information on the subject he has also obtained from the communications of Mr. Alexander Nesbitt and Mr. Albert Way to the Archaeological Journal.

affording substantial proofs that the Continental artists of the incised slabs and monumental brasses were often identical, and that their works were suggested by the early enamels.

Fourthly, the engravers of monumental brasses did not confine their labours to sepulchral memorials, but also executed in a similar style several other articles, such as reliquaries, shrines, ornaments of book-covers, &c., which were formerly adorned with enamelled work<sup>i</sup>. Mr. Nesbitt, through the medium of the *Archaeological Journal*, has made known to us a very interesting brass triptych, originally placed in the votive chapel of our Lady of the Snow on the Rocca Melone, near Susa, in Northern Italy, A.D. 1368. In the centre division is a figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary, seated, with the infant Saviour; on the left wing, or door, appears St. George, on the right the donor, Bonifacio Rotario, of Asti, accompanied by his patron saint, probably St. John the Baptist. The backgrounds are covered with scroll-work, and canopies occupy the upper portion of the design. "Both the drawing and the mode of execution are precisely those of the Flemish sepulchral brasses of the fourteenth century: the architectural details are also identical with such as may be found on those memorials<sup>k</sup>." A later instance of the same kind, bearing the date 1523, and a mark with the initials I. E., probably those of the engraver, is also mentioned in the *Archaeological Journal* as having been exhibited by Mr. Farrer at a meeting of the Institute on Jan. 9, 1852. It is "a brass case in the form of a book, and intended, probably, for the preservation of some choice volume of *Horæ*, or other service-book. It is of interest, not only as a singular kind of forel, but as being covered with engraved ornament, precisely in the style of Flemish sepulchral brasses; and it was doubtless produced by the burin of an engraver of latten for those memorials<sup>l</sup>."

Fifthly, the direct connection of enamelled work and brasses is

<sup>i</sup> "By those very artists who executed the monumental effigies, we may reasonably suppose, were engraved the bosses and clasps for the monastic books, boxes, shrines, and ornaments for the altars of churches; also cups, and a variety of other furniture of metal, as well for religious as secular purposes. Hence we see the art of engraving was not only discovered, but practised ages

before it entered into the idea of man to conceive to what great and noble uses it might be applied." Strutt's *Hist. of Engraving*, vol. i. pp. 12, 13.

<sup>k</sup> See *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xiv. pp. 207—210. The notice is accompanied by three beautiful engravings of the triptych.

<sup>l</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, vol. ix. pp. 108, 109.

shewn by the use of the former on some of the shields of early figures, as at Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey. These shields, as might be expected, are not made of brass, which would not bear the required heat, but of thin plates of copper inlaid in the brass<sup>m</sup>.

But the delicacy of the colouring material of these enamels was little suited to bear the rough treatment which it would encounter on the floor of a church: they were therefore usually fixed to walls, or suspended over tombs, as in the instances mentioned by Stothard. Their costliness also would place them beyond the reach of all but the wealthy; whereas brass was abundant, and well suited in most respects to such a purpose<sup>n</sup>.

From what has been said, then, it appears that stone monuments on the pavements of churches were gradually assuming, as more convenient, the flat form, at about the same period that the beauty of enamelled metals had attracted the attention of artists for monumental purposes. But the small size, the frailty of structure, and the great expense of these enamels, soon led to the widely extended use of brass<sup>o</sup>, which possessed most of their advantages without their faults: for when its deeply incised lines were filled with cements of various colours, it formed a substitute, not indeed quite so beautiful, but as much more durable as it was less costly.

It is not, however, to be supposed, because the Limoges enamels suggested the adoption of the monumental brasses, that these memorials were first made in that city, or even in France. On the contrary, the enamellers may have discountenanced any cheap imitations of their expensive works. It is more likely that the art originated in Germany, in which country the metal was largely manufactured, and in the northern portion of which, especially the kingdom of Hanover and duchies of Mecklenburg and Brunswick,

<sup>m</sup> Waller's Brasses, pt. x. See the description of the brass at Trotton, *infra*, p. 22.

<sup>n</sup> In Germany a great number of tombs of metal still remain, which are wrought in very low relief, and form the intermediate class between the sepulchral brass and the effigy. Sixty or eighty such figures of bishops, deans, and canons exist at Bamberg Cathedral. Gloss of Archit., art. "Brasses." Some of these are the work of Peter Vischer in the commencement of the sixteenth

century: they were first cast, and afterwards finished with a graving tool. Other examples may be seen in the Cathedrals of Ratisbon, Cracow, Breslau, and Ulm, at Marburg, and a small one in the museum at Basle. The same kind of memorial, which was probably introduced at the end of the fourteenth century, is still used in Germany.

<sup>o</sup> The more frequent use of incised stone slabs in France may perhaps be fully accounted for by the greater hardness of the stone in common use.

some of the earliest and finest brasses are to be found<sup>p</sup>. That the Flemish were early celebrated for their skill in engraving these memorials is evident from the fine specimens remaining at Bruges, Ghent, and other parts of Belgium. As their reputation extended also into Germany<sup>q</sup>, it is most probable that many of the finest examples existing in that country, as at Lubeck and Schwerin, are the productions of Flemish artists.

With respect to the material of which these memorials were made in England, it appears certain that the brass plate was at first brought from the Continent<sup>r</sup>. Flanders and the neighbouring provinces were early celebrated for the manufacture of plates of "latten" or brass, called "Cullen plate<sup>s</sup>," a term corrupted from Ceulon, Cöln, or Cologne, where such plates were principally made. The earliest notice that has been observed of the manufacture of brass in this country is a patent<sup>t</sup>

<sup>p</sup> In the Church of St. Andrew, at Verden, is the earliest brass which has yet been noticed. It commemorates Bishop Yso von Welppe, 1231, who is represented in pontificalibus, and as carrying in his right hand a model of the church which he founded, and in his left a model of a tower enclosed within a battlemented wall, in allusion to his having fortified Verden, and perhaps erected the western tower of the cathedral. "The drawing of the whole is faulty, and the execution poor, scarcely, and uncertain; the whole has suffered much from wear." Arch. Journ., vol. xiii. p. 83. At Hildesheim is a brass to Bp. Otho de Brunswick, 1279.

<sup>q</sup> "Hermann Gallin, Senator of Lubeck, who died in 1365, ordered by his will that his executors should place over his sepulchre 'unum *Flamingicum* auricalcium figuracionibus bene factum lapidem funeralem.' It does not now exist, but there are still in that city several examples of Flemish brasses." Note in Arch. Journ., vol. xiv. p. 210.

<sup>r</sup> Many English brasses exhibit on their reverses portions of older engravings of foreign workmanship.

<sup>s</sup> See the agreement made for the erection of the tomb of Richard Beauchamp, 1439, at Warwick, quoted infra, p. 27, note q. Cologne seems to have been written Ceulon or Ceulen, e. g. "Chronick der Stadt Ceulon, by Koel-

hoff, 1490." Latten, Belg. *Lattoen*, seems to have been used loosely for any compounds of copper. There was a great trade between Cologne and London. King John granted many privileges to the Cologne merchants. Whitehall belonged to them entirely. Metal tombs in relief, and perhaps brasses, were apparently made at Cologne. At Aigueblanche, in Piedmont, is (or was) a recumbent statue in brass of Peter de Aquablancha, Bishop of Hereford, who died in 1268, and willed his heart to be buried at his native place, where he had founded a monastery. The inscription ends thus,—"*Hoc opus fecit magist: Henricus de Colonia. Aia huj' requiescat in pace Amen.*" See the Kerrich Collection in the British Museum, Add. MSS. No. 6,729, p. 102. The Flemings largely traded with England for the sake of wool to supply their extensive clothing trade. In 1337 the export of wool was prohibited, and foreign cloth-workers allowed by Edw. III. to settle in England. See *Annals of England*, vol. i. p. 384. Manufacturers of woollen twists and stuffs were soon established in Norfolk, especially at Worstead, which place gave the name of "worsted goods" to these fabrics.

<sup>t</sup> See Stringer, *Op. Mineral. Explic.*, 1713, p. 34; and a petition of John Brode, &c., 1596. *Lands. MSS. Brit. Mus.* No. 81, 1, 2, and 3.

granted by Queen Elizabeth, Sept. 17, 1565, to William Humfrey, assay master of the mint, and Christopher Shutz, "an Almain," to search and mine for calamine, and to have the use of it for making all sorts of battery wares, cast works, and wire, of latten. At the same time similar privileges were granted to Cornelius Devoz, and to Daniel Houghsetter and Thomas Thurland. In 1568, May 28, the company of the mineral and battery works was incorporated, and in 1584 reincorporated; in which year a lease of works at Isleworth<sup>u</sup> was granted to John Brode, who appears to have greatly improved the art; and about the same period many other brass mills were set up, especially in Somersetshire.

Although the "*plate*" was not made at home until long after the foreign brasses had attained a high degree of excellence, yet there is every reason to believe that almost all the brasses in England were the work of native artists. No one can doubt this who will compare them with the few that remain on the Continent, such as the fine brasses of Burchard de Sarken, 1317, and John de Mül, 1350, Bishops of Lubeck; Godfrey de Bulowe, 1314, and Frederick de Bulowe, 1375, also Ludolph de Bulowe, 1339, and Henry de Bulowe, 1347, Bishops of Schwerin; and Maertin heere Van de Capelle, 1452, Bruges, all in the cathedrals of their respective cities.<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>u</sup> Norden, in his *Descript. of Middx.* 4to. 1593, under "Thistleworth," describes this mill, but the notice is more full in the original MS. written in 1592, (Harl. 570,) and is given at p. xiii. of the *Introd. to Norden's Descript. of Essex*, (London Camd. Soc.), as follows:—

"*Thistleworth or Istleworth*, a place scituate upon the Thamise. Not farr from whence betwene it and Worton is a copper and brass myll, wher it is wrowght out of the oar, melted, and forged. The oar, or earth wherof it is contrived, is brought out of Somersetshire from Mendipp, the most from a place called Worley Hill. The carriage is by wayne, which can not but be very chardgeable. The workemen make plates both of copper and brasse of all seyces litle and great, thick and thyn, for all purposes. They make also kytles. Their furnace and forge are blown with great bellowes, raysed with the

force of the water, and suppressed agayne with a great poyes and weyght. And the hammers wherwith they worke their plates are very great and weightie, some of them of wrowght and beaten iron, some of cast iron, of 200, 300, some 400 weight, which hammers so massye are lifted up by an artificiall engine, by the force of the water, in that altogeather semblable to the Iron myll hammers. They have snippers wherwith they snyppe and pare their plates, which snippers being also of a huge greatnes, farr beyond the powr of man to use, are so artificially placed, and such ingenious devises therunto added, that by the moõon of the water also the snippers open and shut, and performe that with great facility, which ells were very harde to be done."

<sup>v</sup> The three brasses at Lubeck and Schwerin have each two figures of bishops. That at Lubeck is described by



The foreign brasses, at least the larger and earlier examples, usually considered the work of Flemish artists, consist of a quadrangular sheet of metal, sometimes measuring twelve feet by six feet<sup>x</sup>, and composed of several plates, varying in size from eighteen inches to about two feet and a-half in length, and of proportionate width, neatly joined together. The centre of the brass is occupied by the effigy, or effigies, of the deceased, with the hands raised in the attitude of prayer. Ecclesiastics often hold a book or chalice, bishops and abbots support their pastoral staves between the arm and the body, knights bear their crested helmets in their hands or grasp their swords. The feet rest on some grotesque figures, such as wood-houses or satyrs struggling with an eagle, lion, or other animal, or carrying off a lady. Below this there are frequently depicted some incidents from the legendary lives of saints (St. Dunstan and St. Nicholas at Lubeck, 1350), a hunting-scene (Lynn, Norfolk, 1349; Newark, Notts., 1361), a harvest-home or rustic games (Lynn, 1349), or some fanciful composition, as the preparation and eating of a dinner by satyrs (Schwerin, 1375), a peacock-feast (Lynn, 1364), &c. Over the effigies are drawn elaborate canopies having their side-supports composed of tiers of niches, with geometrical tracery in the pediments of the canopies, and filled with figures of "weepers" (i. e. relations or friends of the deceased) in appropriate costume, saints with their respective emblems, or prophets wearing peculiarly shaped caps and holding scrolls. The upper portion of the canopy immediately over the heads of the principal figures sometimes resembles a groined ceiling bespangled with stars; above are generally one or two rows of niches, those in the centre containing a representation of the deceased under the form of a naked child held in the bosom of a seated figure of Abraham, or borne upwards in a sheet by angels towards a similar figure intended either for Abraham or for the Ancient of Days. On either side are figures of angels or saints swinging censers, holding tapers, playing upon organs and stringed instruments, or with their usual

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Mr. Nesbitt in Arch. Journ., vol. ix. pp. 294—296: an engraving of it may be seen in *Denkmäler bildender Kunst in Lübeck*, by Dr. Ernst Deecke, part i.

<sup>x</sup> The brass at Schwerin Cathedral,

1375, measures 12 ft. 8 in. by 6 ft. 4 in.; that at Lubeck 12 ft. by 6 ft. 2 in. Walsokne's brass at Lynn, Norfolk, 1349, is 10 ft. by 5 ft. 7 in.

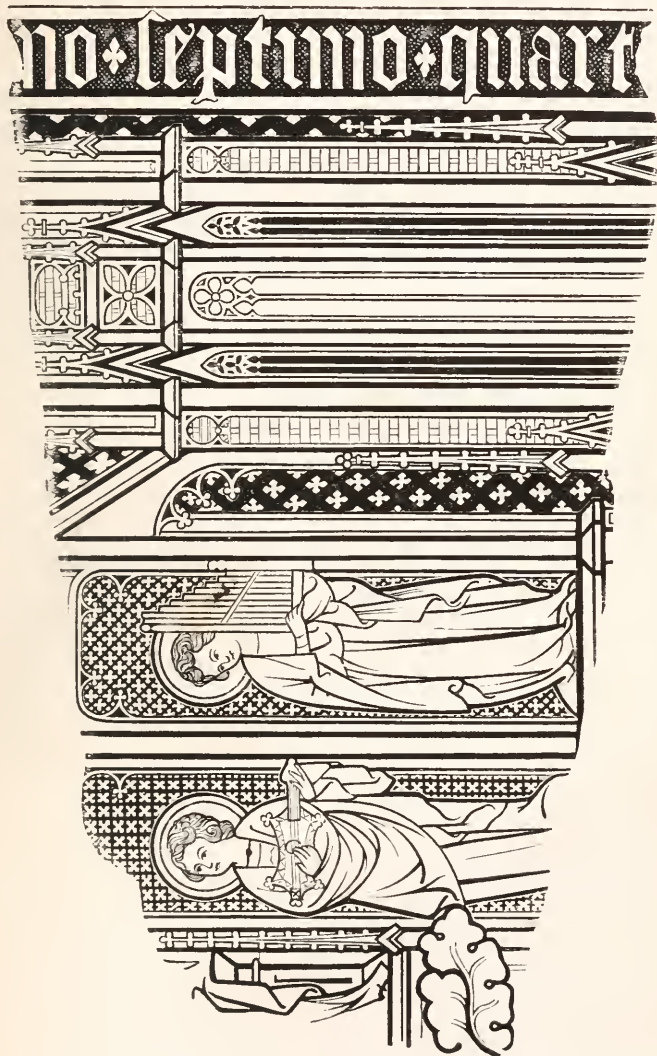
emblems. The niches are crowned with numerous pinnacles, or "gabletz," and the masonry and tile-work carefully drawn. Some fragments of foreign brasses, c. 1375, from Mawgan Church, Cornwall, of which engravings are given below and on p. xvii., furnish good illustrations of this part of the design<sup>v</sup>.



Part of a Flemish Brass at Mawgan, Cornwall, c. 1375.

<sup>v</sup> These form part of the brass of Jane Arundell, c. 1580, from Mawgan Church, Cornwall, and are preserved in the neighbouring nunnery. The above engraving is taken from the reverse of part of the inscription (9½ in. by 8½ in.), the remaining part having a piece of a canopy and inscription, with the words . . . omni Millesimo t . . . The fragment (12¼ in. by 8½ in.) with the portion of an inscription . . . no septimo quart . . . is engraved on the reverse

of the lower part of the effigy; at the back of the upper part is a small figure of a saint, holding a church (?) and standing under a canopy with a rich circle in its pediment. These engravings originally illustrated an article on Sepulchral Brasses, by C. Spence, Esq., in vol. iii. of the publications of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. They have been kindly placed at the disposal of the author by the Committee.



Portion of a Flemish Brass at Mawgan, Cornwall, c. 1375

Around the whole composition is placed a broad border, consisting of a running pattern of the oak, vine, or other leaves, enclosing an inscription in large bold ornamented lettering. At the corners and in the centres of the four sides are inserted evangelistic symbols, merchants' marks, armorial bearings, &c. These last often occupy a very prominent place in the brass, being held by the figure of the deceased or by angels, especially in brasses later than the fourteenth century. Those portions of the slab which are unoccupied by the various designs just described are usually engraved with an elaborate diaper, consisting of foliated scroll-work, with birds, &c., or geometrical compartments filled with foliage, human figures variously engaged, animals, griffins, mermaids, and similar monstrosities, the interstices being occupied with butterflies or foliage. The diapering, however, is not confined to the back-grounds, but employed as an enrichment of the dresses of the principal figures, and of the cushions on which their heads repose. In later brasses the pattern of the diaper is formed of pomegranates, foliage, and scroll-work with flame-like edges, and much resembles the rich stuffs of the period. Very frequently an architectural interior, or a curtain suspended by rings to a rod, forms a back-ground, especially in German brasses of the sixteenth century. Sometimes the canopy is omitted, and the diapered surface becomes a main feature in the brass, as at Meissen Cathedral, 1464. Or, on the other hand, the diapering is wanting, as in an example now in the British Museum, c. 1350, and then the canopy and inscription are usually engraved on plates of brass detached from the effigies of the deceased. Instances may be seen among the drawings in the Gaignières collection of brasses from Beauvais Cathedral. Detached figures without any canopies or back-grounds, and not engraved on



Part of Inscription of Delamare brass, St. Alban's, c. 1360.



Part of Inscription of Powder brass, Ipswich, 1525



Diaper from brass at St. Alban's, c. 1360

Diaper from brass at St. Alban's, c. 1360

quadrangular plates, are not uncommon abroad. The brasses of Willem Wenemaer, 1325, and wife, 1352, at Ghent<sup>z</sup>, and of a civilian, c. 1350, at St. Mary's, Lubeck, are good and early instances.

Besides the leading and peculiar features which have been described, the Continental brasses exhibit, in comparison with the English, a greater variety in the attitude of the figures and the arrangement of the several parts, and also a certain freedom from conventionalities. For instance, Doctors of Theology are represented as seated in a church, accompanied by a standing attendant, and instructing their pupils, who are taking notes at desks; a good instance is afforded by the brass of James Schelewaert, S.T.D., 1419, in the chapel of SS. Crispin and Crispinian, St. Saviour's, Bruges. At St. Mary's, Lubeck, is (or was) a mutilated brass of the date 1521<sup>a</sup>, having the marginal inscription engraved on a wavy line, with the interstices of the undulations occupied by several small subjects illustrative of the life of a person from the cradle to the grave. A similar, and apparently not uncommon arrangement may be seen on one of the fine brasses at Schwerin, 1347, in which a Jesse tree is introduced, with a series of crowned figures terminating in those of the Blessed Virgin Mary and her husband Joseph. Frequently a representation of the Annunciation, the Assumption, the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus on her knees, the Holy Trinity, the Resurrection, or the Crucifixion of our Saviour, forms the centre of the plate, while the persons commemorated kneel on either side with their patron saints. Brasses of much simpler character, such as inscriptions accompanied by chalices (for a priest), half-length figures, armorial bearings, &c., also occur, and some of those with entire figures and canopies are of very small dimensions, as the memorial of Griele van Ruwescuere, 1410, in a private chapel at the Beguinage, Bruges, which measures seventeen inches by ten and a-half<sup>b</sup>. Besides their difference of arrangement and ornament, the foreign brasses are

<sup>z</sup> These interesting figures are preserved in a hospital founded by the deceased in the Place St. Pharaïde, Ghent. They are given as illustrations to a paper on Foreign Sepulchral Brasses, by Albert Way, Esq., in Arch. Journ., vol. vii. pp. 286, 290.

<sup>a</sup> Engraved in *Denkmäler bildender Kunst* in Lübeck, by Dr. Ernst Deecke, part i.

<sup>b</sup> An engraving of this beautiful little brass illustrates the Advertisement of Mr. W. H. J. Weale's work on Foreign Brasses and Slabs. The figure apparently carries some devotional work suspended from the left arm by a netted bag, or forel. The execution of the brass is c. 1390, the date having been subsequently inserted.

distinguished from the English by a peculiarity of engraving. The principal lines are broader and more boldly drawn, though less deeply cut, and wrought with a flat, chisel-shaped tool, instead of the ordinary engraving burin. "Stippling," or dotted shading, is found on early examples in the folds of the drapery, bases of canopies, &c.

These characteristics, especially the quadrangular shape of the plates, the diapered backgrounds, and scroll-work enrichment, enable us at once to decide upon the foreign origin of several brasses in England, viz., those at Lynn, Norfolk, to Adam de Walsokne and wife, 1349, and Robert Braunche and two wives, 1364<sup>c</sup>; at St. Alban's, to Thomas de la Mare, Abbot, 1396, (date of engraving c. 1360); at Newark, Notts., to Alan Fleming, 1361; at Avey, Essex, to Ralph de Knevynton, in armour, 1370; at Newcastle-ou-Tyne, to Roger Thornton and wife, 1429; at St. Mary Quay, Ipswich, to Thomas Powner and wife, 1525; at All-Hallows, Barking, London, to Andrew Evingar (an Anglicised corruption of Wyngaerde, the name of a family which resided at Antwerp<sup>d</sup>) and wife, c. 1535, and at Fulham, Middlesex, to Margaret Hornebolt, 1529, a demi-figure in a shroud, on a lozenge-shaped plate. To which may be added the fragment of a large brass of an abbot, c. 1350, now in the British Museum, and a large plate brought from Flanders, and now in the Museum of Economic Geology, London; it commemorates Lodewyc Cortewille and wife, 1504 and 1496<sup>e</sup>, and is very similar in execution to the brass at Fulham.

The English brasses, on the contrary, are not on one quadrangular plate, but consist of separate pieces, with an irregular outline, corresponding, for the most part, with that of the figure or device represented; they have consequently no back-ground of brass, its place being occupied by the stone in which they are inlaid. If these two be compared together, the preference seems to be due to the English

<sup>c</sup> There was a third at Lynn, also of foreign execution, to Robert Attelathe and wife, 1376. The figure of the husband is copied in Cotman's *Sepulchral Brasses of Norfolk*, vol. i. pl. vii., from an engraving in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, (vol. i. pl. xxxvi.) made from two facsimiles still preserved in the British Museum. In the choir of St. Alban's Abbey is a large slab bearing the indent of a foreign brass, probably

commemorating Michael de Mentmore, twenty-ninth abbot, who died in 1349. A similar slab remains in the centre of the nave of Boston Church, Lincolnshire.

<sup>d</sup> The author is indebted to W. H. J. Weale, Esq., of Bruges, for this information.

<sup>e</sup> The metal of this brass yielded upon analysis, copper 64, zinc 29.5, lead 3.5, tin 3.

method. In looking at the Continental brasses, the eye is confused by the large and profusely ornamented surface presented to it at one view; whereas those of England, by their arrangement, preserve clearly the distinctness of the several parts, while the canopy and surrounding marginal inscription sustain the unity of design. The fine brasses at Cowfold, Sussex, of Prior Nelond, 1433, and at Graveney, Kent, of Judge Martyn and wife, 1436, may be selected in proof of this opinion. It is interesting to find that while a few works of foreign artists have found their way into England, one example at least of English workmanship remains on the Continent to shew the excellence of our engravers. In Constance Cathedral is a brass, with a canopy, effigy, and border inscription, to Robert Hal-lum, Bishop of Salisbury, who died while attending the council in 1416, and the tradition abroad is that it came from England<sup>f</sup>.

It is not improbable that the difference observable between foreign and English brasses may be accounted for by the greater abundance of metal abroad, and the different models which the artists here and on the Continent had before them. The English workmen had been accustomed to stone figures without back-grounds, while those on the Continent were familiar with the Limoges plates and incised slabs.

To avoid misconception, it may be as well here to state that many of the later English brasses, especially those affixed to the wall, are engraved on small quadrangular plates. They cannot, however, well be mistaken for foreign examples. Those after the middle of the sixteenth century have the back-ground plain, or occupied by masonry, arches, or the interior of a church or panelled apartment. The earliest of the kind are Sir Thomas Sellynger and lady, 1475, St. George's Chapel, Windsor; Philip Mede, Esq. ? and wives, 1475, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol; Sir William Huddersfeld and wife, 1499, Shillingford, Devon, all in heraldic dresses; Dr. Robert Honywode, 1522, St. George's Chapel, Windsor; Christopher Martyn, Esq., 1524, Piddletown, Dorset; Robert Sutton, dean, 1528, Geoffrey Fynche, dean, 1537, both in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin; George Rede, priest, 1492, Fovant, Wilts.; Anne Danvers, c. 1530, Dauntelsey, Wilts., and Sir — Compton and lady, c. 1500, in private hands<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 430.

<sup>g</sup> Engraved in *Boutell's Brasses*, p.

26, and in the *Archæol.*, vol. xvi. p. 302, pl. xii. It was formerly in Netley Abbey, but when discovered several years since,

The three last have their back-grounds diapered with pomegranates, roses, &c., and the last has also the fire beacon, the Compton badge, repeated four times.

There are a few brasses in England which, though they do not consist of quadrangular plates, and are destitute of the diapered back-ground, are, from their style of engraving and ornament, evidently the work of foreign artists. Of this kind are the figures of two ecclesiastics c. 1360, one at North Mimms, Herts., the other commemorating Sir Simon de Wenslagh, rector, at Wensley, Yorks.<sup>h</sup> Both these are attired in richly ornamented vestments, and have chalice, apparently covered with patens, placed on the body instead of held in the hands. The fine brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, 1347, at Elsing, Norfolk, and the worn and mutilated remains of two canopied brasses in the nave of Boston parish church, shew evident indications of foreign workmanship, the figures of the weepers at the sides of these canopies being placed in niches with diapered back-grounds<sup>i</sup>. The peculiar position of the shield over the left thigh of the knight, and the singular character of the costume of the lady, prove the effigies of Sir John de Northwode and his wife, c. 1330, at Minster, in Sheppy, to be of foreign, and most probably of French, origin. The brass of Margaret, Lady Camoys, 1310, at Trotton, Sussex, may also be added to this list, as it was originally "powdered" or sprinkled after the foreign fashion; the slab with stars and coronets (?) in brass, and the dress of the figure with nine small shields, apparently enamelled, and resembling the few that still remain on the effigy of William de Valence, 1296, at Westminster Abbey<sup>j</sup>.

Another description of memorial peculiar to the Continent, and

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was used as the back of a grate in a cottage. A few years ago there was another brass (a palimpsest) in not quite so warm a position, but "well rubbed," over the mantel-piece in the vicarage kitchen at the Temple Church, Bristol. It has since been refixed in the church.

<sup>h</sup> See the article, by the Rev. James Raine, in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xii. pp. 238—243, from which it appears that Sir Simon was above sixty years of age in 1386, and probably died before 1400.

<sup>i</sup> An engraving of one of the figures from the Elsing brass will be found

among the descriptions of the military brasses of the fourteenth century.

<sup>j</sup> Compare similar figures in Montfaucon, *Mon. de la Monarchie France.*, tom. iii. pl. xxxiv. fig. 10; and tom. ii. pl. xxxviii. p. 214. Among the drawings of French tombs in the Bodleian is one of a brass in the church of the Jacobins at Rouen, in memory of Philippe de Clere, 1351, and his wife Jehane de Meusenc, 1344; the costume of the latter bears considerable resemblance to that of Lady Northwode at Minster. See also Montfaucon, *Mon. de la Mon. France.*, tom. ii. pl. xxxviii. lii.





Sir John de Northwode and Lady, c. 1330, Minster, Sheppy.

which has been before alluded to<sup>k</sup>, is the union of the monumental brass and incised slab. Of these a few foreign instances may be seen in England. In Boston Church, Lincolnshire, are several slabs of hard blue-grey marble, with figures incised on them, the head, hands, chalice, sword, &c., alone being of brass. These memorials are now nearly obliterated and the brasses lost, with the exception of the hands of one effigy<sup>l</sup>. At All-Hallows', Barking, London, is a slab

<sup>k</sup> *Supra*, p. x.

<sup>l</sup> These slabs probably are from the carboniferous limestone which composes the hills of the neighbourhood of Liège and on the banks of the Meuse, a material which was extensively used on the

Continent for incised slabs. See *Arch. Journ.*, vol. vii. p. 189. Foreign incised slabs, the tombs of strangers chiefly, may be found in England at the following places:—

Boston, Lincolnshire, a slab found on

of this kind, the inlaid brass being shaped like a hand-shovel, and perhaps engraved with a face and hands, now defaced. At Blockley, Worcestershire, is a kneeling figure of an ecclesiastic in brass, with a chalice and marginal inscription cut in the stone slab. This example, of the date 1488, is, however, of English workmanship.

Although there can be no doubt that the monumental brasses in England, with such few exceptions as have been just noticed, are the work of native engravers, yet up to the present time no record has been discovered to satisfy our curiosity respecting the artists to whom we are indebted for these beautiful works. That there was one manufactory well known at the time, established in London in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which took the lead in the production of these monuments, and kept that position for three or four centuries, is tolerably certain from the fact that by far the majority of brasses throughout England, of the same date, present a great similarity of design and execution; figures, in churches distant from each other many miles, are so like in form and features as to produce conviction that they are works of the same body of artists. For in-

the site of the Franciscan Friery, and now placed against the wall of a house; it commemorates "WISSELVS · D'CS · SMALENBVRGH · C·VIS · ET · MERCATOR · MONASTERIENSIS," (Munster in Westphalia?) with canopy, 1312. Engraved in Arch Journ., vol. vii. p. 54.

Sudbury, Suffolk, Sieve de St. Qvintin, c. 1330, a lady in costume similar to that on brasses at Cobham, Kent, c. 1320, and Trotton, Sussex, 1310. See Arch. Journ., vol. v. pp. 222, 223.

Brading, Isle of Wight, John Chero-win, Esq., "Dum viderat connectabularius castrî de porcesre," 1441. Engraved in the Winchester volume of the British Arch. Association.

Both these last are probably of French execution, and had the face and hands inlaid with stone in low relief, and of a different colour and material (perhaps white marble) to the rest of the slab. "The practice of representing parts of an effigy on pieces of brass or of white stone or marble, was common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but no other example [besides the monument of Bp. Otho, see supra, p. vii. note v] of the twelfth has, it is believed, been hitherto noticed. It may, perhaps, have been suggested by the

Greek works in bronze inlaid with silver (*αγγεμα*), which in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were frequently brought into Italy from Constantinople, or manufactured by Greek workmen at Venice, or elsewhere, for the purpose of adorning the doors of churches." Arch. Journ., vol. ix. p. 191. The slab at Brading bears the expression "dum vivebat," (Gall. "en son vivant,") which is commonly found on French inscriptions before the titles of the deceased.

All Saints', Hastings, a civilian and wife, 1458? much defaced.

Playden, Sussex, a slab with casks, crossed mash-stick, and fork, evidently commemorating a brewer, and with the usual Flemish style of inscription:—"Hier is begraue Cornelis Zoetmanns, bidt voer de ziele; i. e. Here is buried Cornelius Zoetmanns, pray for the soul." See Arch., Journ., vol. vii. p. 189.

In Owen and Blakeway's History of Shrewsbury, vol. ii. p. 288, is an engraving of an incised slab, formerly at St. Alkmund's. It represents Simon Walshe and his wife Joan, under rich canopies, c. 1360, and is apparently of foreign workmanship.

stance, knights at Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey, 1327, and Westley Waterless, Camb., c. 1325; at Cheddar, Somerset, 1442? Ewelme, Oxon., 1436, and Westminster Abbey, 1457: priests at Fulbourn, Camb.; Hayes, Kent; Chalfont St. Giles', Bucks., c. 1470, and Crowell, Oxon., 1469: Ladies at Erith, Kent, and Stamford, Lincolnshire, 1471: canopies at Cottingham, Yorks., 1383, and St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1380: effigies at Stopham, 1614; Ardingley, Sussex, 1633, 1634; Burton Latimer, Northants., 1626; Chigwell, Essex, 1631; Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk, 1632; Clynnog, Carnarvon, 1633; St. Columb Major, Cornwall, 1633; Penn, Bucks., 1640, 1641.

When we consider the condition of the sister arts and the large number of brasses required, (not only many churches, as Hitchin, Herts., and Sudbury, Suffolk, but even cathedrals, as Lincoln and Hereford, having been literally paved with them,) it seems not improbable that those who were employed in their manufacture formed a guild, the engravers rigidly adhering to the instructions and patterns furnished them by the principal artists.

There is no ground for supposing that even the first manufacturers of our monumental brasses were foreigners resident in England. On the contrary, the close resemblance between the earliest brasses<sup>1</sup> and the stone effigies which preceded them, leads us to infer that, on the introduction of the new material, some of the sculptors and engravers of stone monuments now devoted their sole attention to the brass memorials; keeping up, however, an intimate connection with the masons for the supply of the altar-tombs and stone canopies which were used in conjunction with brasses as well as with stone effigies.

The marks of the artist have been found on one or two English brasses only, and throw but little light on the subject. One is at the lower corner of the figure of Lady Creke, c. 1325, Westley Waterless, Camb., and consists of the letter N reversed, above which is a mallet, on the one side a half-moon, and on the other a star or sun. A similar device, without the letter, is on a seal of a deed (5th of Ed. I.) of s'. WALTER: LE: MASVN.<sup>m</sup> Another, which is



<sup>1</sup> The cross-legged attitude of the knights, the half-length effigies, and the connection of figures with crosses

are English peculiarities, very rarely, if ever, found on the Continent.

<sup>m</sup> Waller's Brasses, part x. An en-

simply the letter N reversed, occurs on the right hand base of the canopy of the beautiful brass of Thos. Lord Camoys and Lady, 1419, Trotton, Sussex. Although there is the difference of a century in the date of these brasses, it is remarkable that they both bear the same initial letter, and thus confirm the opinion that has been advanced as to the almost exclusive manufacture of brasses for a considerable time by one leading body or guild<sup>a</sup>.



It is just possible that the names of some of the artists of brasses may be preserved among those of the contractors for the metal effigies cast in relief of Richard II., Henry VII., and their Queens, at Westminster Abbey, and Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1439, at Warwick.

The contract for the first was taken in 1395, by "Nicholas Broker et Godfrey Prest, Citeins et Copersmythes de Loundres<sup>o</sup>," that for

graving of the Westley Waterless brass will be found with the description of military brasses of the fourteenth century.

<sup>a</sup> In Mr. Bontell's *Mon. Brasses and Slabs*, p. 149, is an engraving of part of a foreign brass on the reverse of an inscription formerly at Trunch, Norfolk, but now in private possession. It bears a shield, with the half-moon and star in chief, and the initial W in base, which has been considered an artist's mark, but it occupies too conspicuous a portion of the design to allow of this supposition. As the star and crescent were ordinary badges of handicraft, it is most likely that the device in question is that of some rich trader, for whom the original brass was engraved. Mr. Albert Way, in the *Glossary of Architecture*, art. "Brasses," has called attention to the name of a maker recorded on a brass to Bp. Phillip, formerly in the church of the Jacobins at Evreux, a representation of which is preserved at plate 99 in the second volume of *Drawings of Monuments from Normandy Churches*, now in the Bodleian. The inscription ends thus, with the date . . . "Semel. M. Bis C. Bis quater x' semel' i' Lxix et avgusti: B: Tercia funere ivsti: gvilavime de Plalli me feccit." Mr. Wcale supposes the Flemish brass at Fulham to Margaret Svanders, 1529, to have been designed by her husband Gerard

Hornbolt, or Horenbout, a native of Ghent, and a celebrated painter, who was invited over to England by Hen. VIII. In an office-book of payments signed monthly by the king, there is this entry: "Feb. An<sup>o</sup>. reg. xxix. Gerard Luke Hornband, painter, 56 shillings and 9 pence per month." Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, 1786, vol. i. p. 93. On the brass at St. Patrick's, Dublin, 1537, the initials R. T. appear to have been cut.

<sup>o</sup> The indenture made between the king and the contractors stipulates that the monument should have "Deux Ymages de Coper & Laton Endorrez, Coronez. . . . une table du dit Metall Endorrez, sur la quele les dites ymages seront jesauntz. la quele Table serra fait ovesque une Frette de Flour de Lys, Leons, Egles, Leopardes. . . . Et auxi serrount Tabernacles, appelles Hovels ove Gabletz de dit Metall En dorrez, as Testes, ove doubles Jambes a chescune partie. . . . Et auxi xii. Images du dit Metall endorrez, des diverses Seintz conterfaitz, . . . & viii. Aungells entour la dite Tombe, Et auxi Escriptures d'estre gravez entour la dite Tombe. . . . Et auxi serront tiels Escocions & bien proportionez du dit Metall Endorrez, Gravez & Anamalez de diverses Armes." Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. vii. pp. 797, 798.

the second by "Humfray Walker, founder, and Nicholas Ewen, Coppersmithe and Gilder<sup>p</sup>," and that for the last about 1453, by "John Essex, marbler, William Austen, founder, Thomas Stevyns, coppersmyth, and Bartholomew Lambrespring, Dutchman, and goldsmyth of London<sup>q</sup>." It is evident that too few of these rare and expensive memorials were required to render the production of them a separate trade. They would, therefore, very likely have been made, when occasionally required, by the principal manufacturers of the sepulchral brasses, which were the only metal monuments in general use.

This conjecture is confirmed by a close resemblance between the

<sup>p</sup> See the original document in the Harl. MS., No. 297, quoted in Neale's Account of Hen. VII.th's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, p. 55. The tomb was made under the direction of "Peter Torrigiano of the cite of Florence, graver and payntor."

<sup>q</sup> The agreement provides that Essex, Austen, and Stevyns "shall make, forge, and worke in most finest wise, & of the finest latten, one large plate to be dressed, and to lye on the overmost stone of the tombe under the image that shall lye on the same tombe, and two narrow plates to go round about the stone. Also they shall make in like wise and like latten, a hearse to be dressed and set upon the said stone, over the image to beare a covering to be ordeyned; the large plate to be made of the finest and thickest *cullen* plate, shall be in length viii. foot, and in bredth iii. foot and one inch. Either of the said long plates for writing shall be in bredth to fill justly the casements provided therefore: . . . In the two long plates, they shall write in Latine, in fine manner, all such scripture of declaration as the said executors shall devise, that may be contened and comprehended in the plates; all the champes about the letter to be abated and hatched curiously to set out the letters." All these plates were to be gilt, and to cost *cxv.li*. Wm. Austen was to cast "xiv. images embossed of lords & ladyes in divers vestures, called weepers, to stand in housings made about the tombe:" also "an image of a man armed, of fine latten." "Bartholomew Lambrespring, Dutchman, & goldsmyth of London, 23 Maii,

27 Hen. VI., covenanteth to reparaire whone, and pullish & to make perfect to the gilding" the figures, also to make xiv. scutcheons of the finest latten. These and "the armes in them, the said Bartholomew shall make, reparaire, grave, gild, enamil & pullish as well as possible," and fasten up at fifteen shillings a scutcheon. "John Bourde, of Corif castle in the county of Dorset, marbler, 16 Maii, 35 Hen. VI., doth covenant to make a tombe of marble to be set on the said Earl's grave," for which he was to have *xlv.li*. See *Blore's Mon. Effigies*. These extracts are given somewhat at length, as they contain several terms applicable to brasses. Perhaps an early allusion to their manufacture occurs in the Close Roll, 29 Hen. III., quoted in Turner's *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, p. 261:—"The King to Edward of Westminster. As we remember you said to us that it would be little more expensive to make two brass leopards to be placed on each side of our seat at Westminster, than to make them of incised or sculptured marble, we command you to make them of metal as you said; and make the steps before the seat aforesaid of carved stone." Mr. Turner, in the same work (p. 89), among a list of artists of the thirteenth century, mentions "William of Gloucester, the goldsmith who cast the brass figure for the tomb of Catharine, the infant daughter of Henry the Third, which is believed to have been the first of the kind done in England." See also *Gough's Sep. Mon.*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 50.

minute diaper-work on the robes of the effigy of Anne of Bohemia at Westminster, and that on the armorial bearings of the brasses of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1401, and his Countess, 1406, at St. Mary's, Warwick. The inscription around the monument of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1439, in the same church, is of precisely similar character to those found on brasses.

As the works of the London artists form by far the largest proportion of these monuments in England, there is little difficulty in recognising their style. But it is not so easy to define and appropriate the productions of the few provincial engravers which have come down to us. The earliest of these seem to have been employed chiefly in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and the other northern counties from the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. Examples of their works may be seen in Yorkshire at Aldborough (?), c. 1360, Brandsburton (?) 1397, Allerton Mauleverer, 1400, Harpham, 1418 and 1445, Leeds, St. Peter's, 1459, Catteric, 1465, Beeford, 1472, Ronald Kirk, c. 1470, Sprotborough, 1474, &c.; in Lincolnshire at Boston, c. 1400, Spilsby, c. 1400, South Kelsey, c. 1410, Covenham, 1415, Great Coates, c. 1420, South Ormesby, c. 1420, Theddlethorpe, 1424, Tattershall, 1454, &c.; and perhaps at Acton Burnell, Shropshire, 1382.

The next earliest local artists were probably settled at Norwich in the middle of the fifteenth century. Numerous brasses of their engraving may be seen in many churches in the county, and also in Suffolk, as at St. Stephen's, 1460, St. John's, Madder-market, Norwich, 1524, 1525, Belaugh, 1471, Blickling, 1512, North Creak, c. 1500, Walsingham, 1539 and c. 1540, Frenze, 1551, all in Norfolk; Assington, Suffolk, c. 1500<sup>r</sup>, &c.

In Warwickshire and Northamptonshire are several brasses, evidently engraved by local artists, towards the end of the fifteenth

<sup>r</sup> There were, perhaps, two or three makers of brasses in Norfolk. Richard Brasier, bell-founder and brasier of Norwich, who died in 1513, ordered his executors to lay down brasses on his own, his father's, and his grandfather's grave. Blomfield's *Norf.*, 2nd ed. vol. iv. p. 156. As the brasses which remain on their graves at St. Stephen's Church are of a very peculiar style, they may have been made in the workshops of the Brasier family.

Some brasses in Kent, at Rainham, 1529, and Ringwould, 1530, much resemble those of the same date in Norfolk. The name of Roger, latener of Beccles, occurs in the accounts of Mettingham College, Suffolk, for the years 1411, 1412, &c., and he is supposed by the Rev. C. R. Manning to have been a manufacturer of brasses. See *Arch. Journ.*, vol. vi. pp. 63, 68.

and beginning of the sixteenth century. Instances occur in the following churches in Northamptonshire,—Charwelton, 1490, Ashby St. Legers, 1510, Floore, 1510; and in Warwickshire at Charlcote, c. 1500, Coleshill, 1500, Hampton in Arden, 1500, Middleton, 1522, Whitnash, 1531, Aston, 1545, Solihull, 1549, and Shuckburgh, 1560. The brasses at Kinver, Staffordshire, 1528, and Ashbourn, Derbyshire, c. 1545, are probably by the same engravers.

In Suffolk and its neighbourhood we find several brasses of the first half of the sixteenth century, which are of peculiar character. Such are figures, chiefly of the Drury family, in Suffolk, at Denston, 1524, c. 1530, Little Waldingfield, 1526, c. 1530, 1544, Bures, 1539, Hawstead, c. 1530, Great Thurlow, c. 1530; at Burwell, Camb., c. 1540; Necton, Norfolk, 1532; Somersham, Hunts., c. 1530; Ingoldmells, Lincolnshire, 1520; Coggeshall, Essex, c. 1540, &c.

About the same date some engravers appear to have established themselves at or near Cambridge, and to have made many brasses there, and in the counties of Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire. Examples of their workmanship are to be found at King's Coll., 1507, 1528, Trinity Hall, c. 1530, Queen's Coll., c. 1535; Little Wilbraham, 1521, Swaffham Prior, 1515, 1521, Cambridgeshire; Hatley Cockayn, 1527, Clifton, 1528, Beds.; Hitchin, Herts., c. 1530; Orford Darcy, Hunts., c. 1530, &c. The brass of John Borrell, 1531, formerly at Broxbourn, Herts., was another instance<sup>s</sup>.

In no other localities besides these which have been described, are any traces of provincial artists of monumental brasses probably to be found. And most of these seem to have disappeared directly after the Reformation, the works of the principal engravers alone being in general use subsequent to that eventful period. For the sake of convenience, in describing the peculiarities of their respective works, these artists will be referred to as the London, Yorkshire, Norfolk, Warwickshire, Suffolk, and Cambridge; without any pretension to assign the exact spot of their residence.

\* A woodcut of the male figure is inserted in this volume as an illustration of the costume of a serjeant-at-arms. Engravings are also given from the brasses at Aldborough, c. 1360, Harpham, 1418, Sprotborough, 1474, Yorks.; Acton Bur-

nell, Shropshire, 1382; Blikling, 1512, North Creak, c. 1500, Frenze, 1551, Norfolk; Assington, c. 1500, Little Waldingfield, 1526, Bures, 1539, Suffolk; Little Wilbraham, 1521, Cambridgeshire.

There are, however, several peculiar effigies to be met with, chiefly of inferior workmanship and late date, which cannot be well ascribed to any of these engravers: as at Stopham, Sussex, 1428; Lullingstone, 1485, and Chartham, 1530, Kent; Litchet Maltravers, c. 1470, Dorset; St. Just, Cornwall, c. 1520; Bishop-Burton, Yorks., 1579? Quethioc, 1617, and Launceston, c. 1620, Cornwall; Dunston, Norfolk, 1649. Some few brasses of this kind in the midland counties are probably the work of the makers of incised slabs, as at Walton-on-Trent, Derbyshire, c. 1500? Loughborough, Leicestershire, 1480. Incised slabs were occasionally engraved by the artists of brasses, as at Warblington, Hants., 1558.

A few brasses are to be met with which, from their delicacy of engraving, have evidently issued from the workshop of the goldsmith, or the hand of the engraver of copper-plates for books, &c. Of the former kind are the brasses at St. George's, Windsor, 1475; Shillingford, Devon, 1499; Horncastle, Lincolnshire, 1519; Berkhamstead, Herts., (to Thomas Humfre Goldsmith,) c. 1500; a curious instance formerly at Shorne, Kent, 1520<sup>t</sup>? and perhaps the singular effigy at Herne in the same county, of Christina, the wife of Matthew Phelip, goldsmith, of London, 1470. Of the latter description, and of course of late date, are the brasses with curious devices at Queen's College, Oxford, 1610, 1616<sup>u</sup>; Carlisle Cathedral, 1616; Tingewick, 1608, and Bletchley, 1610, Bucks.; Broughton Gifford, Wilts., 1620, and perhaps at Pimperne, Dorsetshire, 1694, on which is inserted the maker's name, "Edmund Colpeper, Fecit." The artists' names are also affixed to some of the finely executed busts in the Gwydir Chapel, Llanrwst, Denbighshire; the

<sup>t</sup> A portion of it is engraved in the *Gent. Mag.*, 1801, part i. p. 497. It bore a half figure of our Saviour seated on a rainbow, with a sword pointed towards Him, and surrounded with moons and stars, and below a recumbent effigy in a shroud, with a female figure kneeling beside,—in memory of Edmund Page and wife.

<sup>u</sup> On these are the initials A H. and R H., probably for Abraham and Remigius Hogenbergh, who were employed in England c. 1570. See Strutt's *History of Engraving*, vol. ii. p. 22. On an inscription at Bury St. Edmunds, 1601, is an artist's mark, perhaps that of John Van Aken. In the Dutch Church at

Norwich is an inscription (1636) in three languages, with the names of the designers, "Franc<sup>s</sup> de Bru'ijne Scripsit," "Door Leendert Sijmonsz Gesneeden." At Darley, in Derbyshire, two brass inscriptions to the Senior family were laid down in 1654, 1656, by "Robert Thorpe in Sheffield the carver." See *Arch. Journ.*, vol. vi. p. 196. Poulson, in his *History of Holderness*, vol. i. p. 386, gives an inscription at Nunkeeling, Yorks., to Geo. Aeklam, 1629, ending "Gab. Hornbie Sculp." Another instance, at Ormskirk, Lancashire, 1661, ending, "Richard Mosok, Sculpsitt," is noticed in *Notes and Queries*, vol. xii. p. 372.



portrait of Lady Mary Mostyn, 1658, being by Silvanus Crue, and that of Lady Sarah Wynne, 1671, by William Vaughan.

That great care was taken to represent faithfully on brasses the costume of the period, is obvious from a comparison of the works of the contemporary artists, and from those minute and gradual changes in the costume and ornament which enable the antiquary, in the absence of other authority, to fix the date of these memorials with perhaps greater precision than that of any other objects of mediæval antiquity. But it is remarkable that the more extravagant dresses of the time are not copied. From the illuminated MSS. of the same date, we learn that the dresses of both sexes during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were very fantastical and various. On the brasses, however, such extravagancies appear, with great good taste, chastened, and the more outrageous forms curtailed and simplified<sup>v</sup>.

In the majority of instances those who ordered the monuments furnished general directions only to the makers: the latter then followed the usual type or pattern in use at the time. In some cases, however, minute directions were given by will<sup>x</sup>, or personal

<sup>v</sup> Intentional grotesqueness is very rarely indeed found on English brasses. Except the use of animals, &c., to divide words of inscriptions, and one or two initial letters ornamented with faces, e. g. at Acton Burnell, Shropshire, 1382, Worstead, Norfolk, 1440, Middle Claydon, Bucks., 1542, no instance can, perhaps, be adduced.

<sup>x</sup> As an instance may be quoted an extract from the interesting will of Sir John de Foxle, of Apuldrefield, Kent, dated Nov. 5, 1378, communicated by the Rev. Wm. H. Gunner to the Arch. Journ., vol. xv. pp. 268, 269:—"Item, volo et ordino quod executores mei de bonis patris mei emant unum lapidem marmoreum pro tumulo dicti patris mei et matris mee in capella omniium sanctorum in ecclesia de Braye predicta, et quod faciant dictum lapidem parari decenter cum ymagine, scriptura, &c. de metallo; videlicet, dicti patris mei in armis suis, et matris mee in armis pictis, videlicet, de armis dicti patris mei et matris mee predicte, et volo quod quoad ordinacionem dicti lapidis executores mei totaliter faciant juxta ordinacionem et consensum domini mei reverendissimi, domini Wyn-toniensis Episcopi. Item, volo et dis-

pono quod predicti executores mei emant unum alium lapidem marmoreum sufficientem pro tumulo meo, cum sepultus fuero; et quod dictum lapidem parari faciant cum scriptura et ymagine de metallo, videlicet, mei ipsius in armis meis, et uxoris mee defuncte ex parte dextra dicte ymagine mee in armis pictis, videlicet de armis meis et dicte uxoris mee; et cum ymagine uxoris mee nunc viventis, in armis meis, ex parte sinistra dicte ymagine mee." The former monument, if ever laid down, has disappeared, but the latter still remains, though in a mutilated state. See the description in the Catalogue. In the extracts from wills containing the expenses of brasses given in some subsequent pages, similar instructions will be found. The indenture made in 1580, between the executors of Thos. Fernor, Esq., of Somerton, Oxon., and Richard and Gabriell Roiley, "Tumbe-makers," of Burton-upon-Trent, for an alabaster tomb, although not relating to a brass, affords a very good specimen of the style of directions given for such monuments. The contractors agree to make "a very faire decent and well p'portioned picture or portrature of a gentleman represent-



The above engraving is copied from a brass relief from A.D. 1378 in the British Museum. It is a copy of the original in 1857.

interview with the artists, who appear to have visited the family or friends to receive instructions. This attention to detail is generally observable when the monument was laid down in the lifetime of the person commemorated. For instance, there can be little doubt that on many brasses are portrayed the exact patterns of the ecclesiastical vestments, especially copes, worn by the deceased. Knights and gentlemen took care that their armour, and the ornaments of their sword-belts, should be accurately copied<sup>1</sup>. Ladies were par-

ing y<sup>e</sup> said Thomas Ferrer w<sup>th</sup> furniture and ornaments in armour, and about his necke a double chayne of gold w<sup>th</sup> creste and helme under his head, w<sup>th</sup> sword and dagger by his side, and a lion at his feet, and in or on the uttermost parte of the uppermost parte of the said Tumb a decent and y<sup>e</sup> best picture or portraiture of a faire gentlewoman w<sup>th</sup> a French hood, erge and shalment, w<sup>th</sup> all other apparel furniture jewells ornaments and things in all respects usual, decent, and seemly, for a gentlewoman. . . . Also<sup>2</sup> decent and usual pictures of, or for, one sonne or (sic) two daughters of y<sup>e</sup> said Thomas Ferrer w<sup>th</sup> their severall names of Baptism over or under y<sup>e</sup> said pictures, severally and orderly w<sup>th</sup> wordes in their handes, when y<sup>e</sup> said sonne to be pictured in

armour and as livinge, and y<sup>e</sup> one of y<sup>e</sup> said daughters to be pictured in decent order and as livinge, and y<sup>e</sup> other daughter to be pictured as deince in y<sup>e</sup> cradle or swathe. . . . Also four shields with "trew armes" of the deceased and his two wives, and a Latin inscription given at full length. See the communication by E. P. Shirley, Esq., in *Arch. Journ.*, vol. vii. p. 186.

<sup>1</sup> This engraving, which originally appeared in the *Arch. Journ.*, vol. i. p. 301, though representing the making of incised slabs, conveys a good idea of the manufacture of monumental brasses.

<sup>2</sup> See the engravings in this volume from brasses at Kidderminster, Worcestershire, 1415, and Lubingtons, Kent, 1457.

ticular, especially in the sixteenth century, that their head-dresses, patterns of girdles and gowns, should be carefully transmitted to posterity<sup>a</sup>. When a brass has been put down, as at Great Hampden, Bucks., 1553<sup>b</sup>, by a second wife to her deceased husband, it is often easy to detect that greater care has been paid to her own costume than to that of the former wife.

Instructions were not unfrequently given to the artists that a tomb should be made like some specified example. This will explain the peculiar character which often prevails in the design of brasses of certain churches or districts. Thus at Burford, Oxon., we find in one church that there were four "bracket brasses," (three of them lost,) whereas, perhaps, the whole county does not present as many more. At Hitchin, Herts., there are four shrouded brasses, a very unusual number to be found together. At Boston, Lincolnshire, are several foreign slabs, partially inlaid with brass<sup>c</sup>. At York are several half-length figures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, peculiarities scarcely to be met with elsewhere. While chalices and hearts with inscriptions are common in Norfolk, they are comparatively rare in other counties.

In some families or communities a fashion for monumental brasses prevailed, as in the various cathedral and collegiate bodies. Good instances are still afforded by the memorials of the Wardens and Fellows in the chapels of Winchester, and New College, Oxford; those of the Drury family at Hawstead, Denston, &c., Suffolk; the fine series of brasses to the Cobham family, at Cobham, Hoo, and other churches in Kent, at Chrishall in Essex, and Lingfield, Surrey<sup>d</sup>, &c. In fact, one brass laid down in a church was often quickly succeeded by another. Thus the fine foreign brass of Adam de Walsokne, at Lynn, was followed by those of Robert Braunche and Robert

<sup>a</sup> Examples of head-dresses are engraved in this volume from brasses at Digswell, Herts., 1415, Ash, Kent, c. 1460. The ornament on the skirt of the figure of Jane Paschall, c. 1600, at Great Baddow, Essex, was no doubt engraved under her superintendence. At Iselham, Cambridgeshire, one of the wives of Thos. Peyton, Esq., 1484, is attired in a gown covered with an embroidered pattern, a unique instance of such enrichment.

<sup>b</sup> Engraved in Lipscomb's Bucks., vol. ii. p. 290. Owing to some whinn, the

name "Alicia" is cut on the shoulder of the figure of one of the wives of Wm. Halsted, Biggleswade, Beds., 1449; the effigy of the other wife is lost.

<sup>c</sup> See supra, page 23.

<sup>d</sup> Perhaps the fashion for these monuments in the Cobham family was first set by the laying down of the brass, at Chartham, Kent, of Sir Robt. Setvans, whose daughter Joane married the John de Cobham who died in 1300, and is possibly the lady commemorated by the earliest of the brasses at Cobham.

Attelathe; that of Michael de Mentmore (?) at St. Alban's, by the beautiful memorial of Abbot de la Mare<sup>e</sup>.

Although the artists took no care to transmit their names to posterity, yet they were particular that all their productions, which had to stand the criticism of future ages, should be well finished and free from errors. But very few instances of carelessness in these respects can be detected. The cross-legged effigies at Trumpington, Cambridgeshire, and Chartham, Kent, were left unfinished, perhaps to save time or expense. In the former, the field of the shield was only partially hollowed out; in the latter the chain-mail was sketched throughout, but finished on the right ancle only<sup>f</sup>. The principal errors are to be found in the Latin inscriptions, and are comparatively very few, considering the almost unintelligible language of some of these compositions. Thus we have Eitlesie for Ecclesie, (St. Margaret's, Rochester, 1465,) viroqꝛ for vtroqꝛ (All Souls College, Oxford, 1510), &c. Owing to the accidental omission of the letter c in the date of an inscription at Camberwell, Richard Skynner is recorded to have died in 1407 instead of 1507, a mistake which has given rise to some unnecessary speculations as to longevity, &c.<sup>g</sup> Sometimes an error was rectified by reversing the plate, and engraving the design anew on the back. Of this there is an interesting example of the date 1587, at Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, in which a feat of agility exhibited before Queen Elizabeth at a stag-hunt by John Selwyn, gentleman keeper of her park at Oatlands, is represented on his brass. It is said that Selwyn, "in the heat of the chase, suddenly leaped from his horse upon the back of the stag, (both running at that time with their utmost speed,) and not only kept his seat gracefully, in spite of every effort of the affrighted beast, but drawing his sword, with it guided him towards the Queen, and coming near her presence, plunged it in his throat, so that the animal fell dead at her feet<sup>h</sup>." The original engraving represents Selwyn, with a short beard, without hat, and holding with one hand the stag's horns; on the second engraving he wears a hat and cloak, and keeps his seat without holding the horns of the stag.

<sup>e</sup> See supra, p. 20, note c.

<sup>f</sup> See the engraving among the military brasses of the fourteenth century.

<sup>g</sup> See Allport's History of Camberwell, p. 129.

<sup>h</sup> Antiq. Repert., vol. i. p. 1. At St. George's, Windsor, an alteration in the arrangement of a shield in the brass of Robt. Honeywode, 1522, is effected by letting in a piece of brass.

When we bear in mind the numerous artists that were engaged during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both in England and abroad, in engraving sepulchral brasses, it seems extraordinary that their claims to the invention of taking impressions from their works, and thus originating the art of engraving, in the restricted sense of the word, should have been almost entirely overlooked. The various writers on the history of engraving appear to have been ignorant of the existence of these works of art, many of which, from their delicate execution and high finish, will bear no unfavourable comparison with more modern works. An exception, however, is to be found in the "Dictionary of Engravers," by Joseph Strutt, who, referring to a plate of the very early date 1461, engraved in Germany, observes, "The artist to whom we owe this singular curiosity was without doubt a goldsmith. And, indeed, it is certain that the art of engraving plates for the purpose of printing first originated with those ingenious mechanics, or else with the engravers, who executed the brass plates for the monuments<sup>i</sup>." After stating that no one seems to have supposed that the English could lay claim to the invention, he proceeds, "But when we consider how many engravers we had in England about the time in which the discovery of taking impressions from copper-plates was made, as the many monumental engravings remaining in our churches to this day sufficiently testify, (and a little examination of these early specimens of the art will prove how well they are adapted to the purpose of printing,) we shall readily conceive that if they did not themselves discover this mode of multiplying their works, they would at least have instantly adopted it, as soon as the knowledge of such an invention reached them<sup>k</sup>." Indeed, on any other supposition it seems difficult to account for the almost perfect identity that exists between brasses of the same date. The filling up the incised lines with pitch or other resinous compositions would furnish easy means for taking impressions by simply heating the brass, and very likely this method may have been accidentally discovered and actually adopted. At any rate, if the makers of monumental brasses did not invent the art of printing from engraved metal plates, the most skill-

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<sup>i</sup> Strutt's Dict. of Engravers, vol. i. p. 16.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid., p. 18; see also supra, page xi.

note i. It has been shewn above (p. 30) that the brasses were, in some cases, made by the engravers of book plates.

ful of them, no doubt, when this discovery was made, relinquished their former occupation, and devoted their energies to a higher branch of the art, and so may, in a certain sense, be regarded as the ancestors of modern engravers. And this may in some degree explain the deterioration observable in the design and execution of brasses just after the invention of printing.

Brasses are now found in greater numbers in England than in any other part of Europe. The whole number still remaining here is probably not less than four thousand, and traces of as many more, which are now destroyed, may be seen. On the Continent the specimens are far from numerous, owing to this kind of memorial being there mainly confined to the nobility, ecclesiastics, and rich merchants, the very extensive use of incised slabs, the rifling which the churches have undergone at various times, and the neglect of the Church authorities. The continental brasses are to be met with chiefly in Belgium and the northern part of Germany. Mr. Weale, of Bruges, who has devoted much time to the investigation of these monuments abroad, has ascertained that there are about sixty-three examples left in the former country. Out of one thousand and twenty-seven churches which he visited he found brasses left in thirty-five only; of these, not more than four were village churches, the nobility of Flanders having generally resided in the towns, and, in the middle ages, belonged to some of the various guilds of that eminently commercial country. Most of the old churches have unfortunately been twice stripped by spoliators, once by the Calvinists in 1566-7, and again by the French in 1795, and within quite a recent period numerous brasses have been sold by the churchwardens for old metal. The brasses of founders of almshouses, as those of Willem Wenemaer and wife at Ghent, have generally escaped destruction, owing to the private chapels being less exposed to injury and spoliation than the parish churches. The following are the principal places in Belgium where brasses are still to be seen: Bruges (SS. Jacques, Pierre, Sauveur), Brussels, Coolscamp, Courtray, Damme, Dixmude, Ghent, Mechlin, Nieupoort, Nivelles, Termonde, Thielen, Tournay, Vichte, and Ypres.

In Germany there are probably upwards of a hundred examples, many of which have been copied by Mr. Weale and Mr. Nesbitt. The best, which are chiefly in the cathedral churches, remain at

the following places: Bamberg, Brunswick (St. Peter), Gadebusch (Royal Chapel), Hildesheim, Lubeck (Cathedral, SS. Catherine, James, Mary, Peter, &c.), Meissen, Schwerin, and Verden.

Prussia possesses a few examples of interest at Breslau, Erfurt, Naumburg, Stralsund (St. Nicholas), Thorn (St. John), at Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne in the Rhine Provinces, and at Paderborn in Westphalia.

Examples have been noticed, in Poland, at Cracow, Gnesen, and Posen; in Holland, at Nymeguen; in Switzerland, at Constance, Berne, and one or two other places; in Russian Finland, at Nausis, near Abo. In France very few brasses indeed escaped destruction at the Revolution; one of the fifteenth century, to Bishop John Avantage, remains at Amiens Cathedral<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Several of the German, Prussian, and Polish brasses have been copied by Alex. Nesbitt, Esq., and described by him in the Arch. Journ., vols. ix., x., xi., xiii. Besides those already mentioned as existing at Lubeck, Schwerin, Verden, &c., the following are of especial interest:—

St. Peter's, Brunswick, John de Rintelen, Rector, 1376, on a quadrangular plate, with detached marginal inscription. An early instance of the "peculiarly German manner of forming these memorials, in which very low relief, instead of engraving, is the method employed. Small ornamental details, however, such as borders of draperies, &c., are usually engraved, and such is the case in this instance." Arch. Journ., vol. xiii. p. 83.

Paderborn Cathedral, Bishop Robert, or Rupert, 1391, in the dress of a canon, on a quadrangular plate. "The earliest example of a German work of the kind which has been noticed." Arch. Journ., vol. ix. p. 203.

Bamberg Cathedral, Lambert von Brunn, Bishop, 1399. A half-effigy, placed above a shield, and holding a crozier in the right hand and a pastoral staff in the left, with border inscription. Engraved in Arch. Journ., vol. ix. p. 204.

Bamberg Cathedral, a canon, of the family of Schenk, of Limburg, c. 1470, a quadrangular plate brass. Engraved in Arch. Journ., vol. x. p. 168.

Posen Cathedral, Lucas de Gorta, Palatine of Posen, 1475, a quadrangular

plate brass. The deceased is represented the size of life, in complete armour, "and as standing under an elaborate canopy, the sides and upper part of which contain niches and small figures; at the back of the figure is seen a curtain suspended from a rod, and above this are windows, as of the interior of a building. . . . The execution of this memorial differs very much from the usual method of simply incising lines, as no part rises above the original surface of the plate; it is, in fact, wholly a work in very low relief, and it would seem that it has been formed by cutting away the metal; the deepest hollows are not much more than about  $\frac{3}{4}$  in., but an effect is produced far greater than can be obtained by the line method. The execution is very good and finished, and in some parts, particularly in the features, extremely clever. The face seems to be evidently a portrait, and has much expression." Arch. Journ., vol. x. pp. 249, 250.

Cracow Cathedral, Frederic the Sixth, Bishop of Cracow, Archbishop of Gnesen, and Cardinal, 1503, a quadrangular plate brass, with a figure of the deceased above life size, figures of SS. Stanislaus and Albert, shields, &c. "It is drawn in a free and unconventional manner, and must have been the work of an artist of considerable ability; the execution is also very good, being delicate or bold as the nature of the various parts required. It is quite free from the coarseness of execution which is observ-

A very fine brass has been already alluded to as existing at Ringsted, in Denmark<sup>m</sup>. In Klevenfeld's *Nobilitas Daniæ ex Monumentis* are engravings of two brasses, consisting of inscriptions and devices at Jordlöse, in Funen, and "Westerwig" in Jutland (?). The same work contains representations of the brass of John Brostorp, Archbishop of Lunden, 1497, in the Cathedral of Lund, in the south of Sweden; and of the brass of Andrew Stigll', Esq., of Neesgordh, and his wife Katherine, 1496 and 1500 (?), at Næs, in Scania<sup>n</sup>. Other brasses in the southern part of Sweden are said to remain in Upland, at Aher and Upsala.

able in the contemporaneous English brasses, and none of the Flemish ones hitherto noticed can be considered equal to it as a work of art." Arch. Journ., vol. xi. p. 175.

Meissen Cathedral, Sidonia, Duchess of Saxony, 1510, a large quadrangular plate brass, representing "her as standing under an archway, though which are seen windows in the background in perspective; a rich piece of tapestry is suspended behind the figure, the feet rest on a pavement, and on either side of them, and partly concealing the lower folds of the drapery, are shields. . . . The effigy of the duchess is somewhat below life size; she is habited in a gown of rich stuff, over which is worn a cloak, the head is covered by a hood, and the chin by a barbe-cloth. . . . The hands are joined as in prayer, and hold a chaplet of beads, the eyes and head are bent downwards with an expression of humility and devotion. Both drawing and execution are admirable, and probably unsurpassed in any similar work; they are superior to those of the contemporary engravings of Cranach, and in some respects even to those of Dürer." Arch. Journ., vol. xi. p. 290.

Meissen Cathedral, Frederick, Duke of Saxony, son of Sidonia, 1510. "Like his mother, he is represented as standing under an arch, with a curtain suspended behind him. The arch is circular, and the details of a mixed Gothic and cinque-cento character; small cupid-like figures (here no doubt representing angels) are introduced into the spandrels. The effigy is of life size, bare-headed, but otherwise in full armour. . . . Over the armour is worn a long mantle with a hood; the cross of the [Teu-

tonic] order is embroidered on the left shoulder." . . . This brass much resembles, but is somewhat inferior to, that of the Duchess of Sidonia, both as regards drawing and execution, the latter in particular being coarser. Arch. Journ., vol. xi. pp. 290, 291.

Aix-la-Chapelle Cathedral, Johan and Lambert Munten, 1546, a small quadrangular plate brass. "It is *painted* a deep blue colour, and has an inscription in gilt letters, at the foot of which is depicted an emaciated figure, wrapped in a shroud and lying upon an altar-tomb; large worms creep round the head and feet."

Aix-la-Chapelle Cathedral, John Paiel, 1560, a small quadrangular plate brass. "This is *painted* as the last-mentioned plate, and represents the Virgin and Child in a flaming aureole. Her feet rest in a crescent, around which is twisted a serpent; on her right hand stand St. John Baptist and the Holy Lamb, each bearing a cross; and to her left is St. Mary Magdalene, who presents a kneeling priest." There are three other brasses in the same church.

See Notes and Queries, 1st Series, vol. viii. p. 497. From lists published in the same work (1st Series, vol. vi. pp. 167, 168; vol. xii. pp. 417, 418) the author has learned the localities of some of the foreign brasses mentioned in the text.

<sup>m</sup> Supra, page ix. note f.

<sup>n</sup> A copy of the very rare work, "Nobilitas Daniæ ex Monumentis, curante P. de Klevenfeld," is preserved in the Douce Collection (K. 132), Bodleian Library, Oxford. The volume consists of thirteen small folio plates, of which four only are apparently of brasses. The brass of John Brostorp is a quad-



Very few brasses exist in the southern parts of Europe. The most remarkable yet noticed is that of Don Perafan de Ribera, 1571, a large figure in richly ornamented armour, removed from one of the lately desecrated conventual churches in Seville to the University chapel in the same city. At Coimbra, in Portugal, are two brass inscriptions in elegant letters, one to John Andrew, Precentor, era 1383, (A.D. 1345); the other to Archdeacon de Sena, era 1386, (A.D. 1348). In the Cathedral at Funchal, Madeira, is a brass of a civilian and his wife, c. 1560? perhaps of Flemish workmanship<sup>o</sup>.

Most of the brasses in England are found in the counties on its eastern side, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent. Many are to be seen in Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey, and Sussex: but in the western and northern counties they are more rare, the use of these monuments being there chiefly confined, as in Herefordshire, to the cathedral and conventual churches. Various reasons have been assigned for this peculiarity. It has been supposed that as "the plate" was brought over from Flanders, it was mostly used in the counties more particularly related to that country, both by geographical position and mercantile intercourse. This will no doubt account for the existence of foreign incised memorials at Boston, Lincolnshire, and Lynn, Norfolk; we find, however, brasses of foreign work as far as Wensley and Topcliffe, Yorks., and Newark, Notts. Another explanation which has re-

rangular plate, with marginal inscription in the Flemish style, enclosing the effigy of the Bishop placed under a small canopy. The stole, maniple, and tunicle are wanting. The hands are crossed on the breast; over his left shoulder he supports a crozier; at his right side is placed a pastoral-staff erect. Below the figure are two shields, one with a mitre above a helmet. The brass at Jordlöse, to one of the Refventlof family (?), consists of two shields chained together, and surmounted by helmets with mantling and crests; above and below are two interlaced scrolls bearing inscriptions; around the whole is a broad inscription, having at the corners large circles enclosing skulls with bones in the mouths, and worms and frogs about them. The example at "Westerwig Cimbricæ" is simply a shield placed

obliquely, and supporting a helmet and crest; the border inscription has evangelistic symbols at the corners, and commemorates "dñs:nicola':strāgess':miles:" 1523, "cū:brore:sua:dnā:ingeburg:filia:soltadi:hoscrades," 1540. The brass at "Næs Scaniae" is in the Flemish style, but without the diaper; the knight grasps his sword with both hands in front of his body; the canopy is double but small, and below the effigies are two shields with helmets and crests.

<sup>o</sup> The brasses at Amiens and Seville are described in the Oxford Manual, Nos. 12, 228, pp. 9, 92. Those at Coimbra, in the Ecclesiologist for March, 1854, No. 100, p. 114. The inscription of the brass at Madeira is lost, the figures are peculiar in having no ground or support for their feet to rest on.

cently been given, is the scarcity of stone in the eastern part of England, in proof of which is urged the very extensive use of flint in the building of churches. The abundance of stone, especially alabaster, in some districts, may have prompted its use for monuments to the exclusion of brass: thus in Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and other midland counties, incised slabs of stone are numerous, and brasses scarce<sup>p</sup>. But those who had neither stone nor brass at hand would be as likely to send to a distance for one as the other; and in the counties where stone is plentiful we find that the founders of churches and chantries were frequently commemorated by brasses. Others, with much more probability, have attributed the frequent use of brasses, which were the chief memorials of the middle classes of society, to the greater wealth of the people, especially the clothiers, of these districts; which enabled them to leave such magnificent monuments of their piety, in the fine churches abounding in the same parts where brasses are most numerous; the wealth of Kent was proverbial. If it be borne in mind that the four most eastern counties contain a larger number of parishes than any other counties in England, except Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, a greater number of brasses might naturally be expected to be found in them. The proportion, however, of brasses to the number of churches is not perhaps higher in them than in some other counties in the neighbourhood of Middlesex, as Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Surrey, Buckinghamshire<sup>q</sup>, &c. As the principal manufacturers resided in the metropolis, their works were of course better known, and the demand for them more frequent in their own vicinity. The settling of local artists, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, in some of the

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<sup>p</sup> Incised slabs with recumbent figures occur in the following churches, in districts where such monuments are comparatively rare:—Thirteenth century, Wells Cathedral: fourteenth century, West Wickham, Kent; Northoe, Devon; Painswick, Gloucestershire; Clevedon, Somerset: fifteenth century, Dorchester, Oxon; West Horndon, Essex; Dauntsey, Wilts.; Iron Acton and Elmore, Gloucestershire; Hereford Cathedral; St. Alban's, Herts.: sixteenth century, Aldbourne, Wilts.; St. Nicholas, Gloucester; North Mimms, Herts.; Led-

bury, Herefordshire: seventeenth century, Horsey, Middlesex. Many of these are in a very defaced state. In Hereford Cathedral are some blue incised slabs, inlaid with white marble or composition. A mutilated instance remains in the cloisters at Gloucester. See also supra, p. xxiii. note l.

<sup>q</sup> The numbers which are lost must also be remembered in forming a correct judgment on this point. Norfolk has the largest number of parishes in England.

eastern counties, tended to promote the adoption of brasses in those districts. These circumstances alone are sufficient to account for the partial distribution of these monuments over our country.

Very few brasses are to be found in Wales; St. David's, Beaumaris, Swansea, Ruthin, and Llandough, near Cowbridge, possess the best: there is a Welsh inscription, c. 1400, at Usk, in Monmouthshire. Two or three examples only are at present known to exist in Scotland; one, of the date 1605, is in Glasgow Cathedral. Dublin Cathedral contains three of the sixteenth century, which are all that have hitherto been found in Ireland\*. Traces of a few

\* The example at Glasgow Cathedral is against the wall of the nave, and consists of a quadrangular plate, measuring about 3 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft., bearing a small armed figure kneeling before the word "Jehovah" in Hebrew characters, and surrounded with clouds and rays. Behind the figure is this inscription in large capitals, HEIR · AR · BVREIT · S<sup>R</sup>. WALTIE · S<sup>R</sup>. THOMAS · S<sup>R</sup>. IHONE · S<sup>R</sup>. ROBERT · S<sup>R</sup>. IHONE · AND · S<sup>R</sup>. MATHIEV · BY · LINEAL · DESCENT · TO · V · THERIS · BARONS · AND · KNIGHTS · OF · THE · HOVS · OF · MYNTO · WT · THAIR · VYFFIS · BAIRNIS · AND · BRETHEREIN. Several stones, which probably were inlaid with brasses, have been removed to the exterior of the cathedral. Dr. Daniel Wilson, in his valuable work, "The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," pp. 619—651, has collected the following notices of Scottish brasses:—"The 'restorations' of the collegiate church of St. Giles at Edinburgh in 1829, compassed, among other lamentable defacements, the destruction of the tomb of 'The Good Regent,' including the brass engraved with the figures of Justice and Faith, and the epitaph from the pen of George Buchanan. The brass has fortunately been rescued, and is preserved in the possession of the Hon. John Stuart, one of the lineal descendants of the Regent, James Earl of Moray, by whom steps have been recently taken with a view to its restoration. A charter granted by the city of Edinburgh to William Preston, of Gortoun, in 1454, in acknowledgment of his father's invaluable gift of 'the arme bane of Saint Gele,' preserves the record of at least one other brass that once adorned the same ancient church, though

long since gone, with so many other of its most interesting features. It is described as 'a plate of brase, with a writ specifying the bringing of that relik be him in Scotland with his armis.' A small mural brass still remains in part of the Church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, known as Drum's Aisle, bearing two shields of arms,—the one bearing the three-banded bunches of holly leaves for Irvine, and the other three pales for Keith. It surmounted the recumbent effigy of Alexander Irvine, third of the ancient family of Drum, who fell at the battle of Harlaw, in the year 1411; and of his wife Elizabeth Keith, daughter of the Lord Robert de Keith. The knight is in full armour, but crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and his feet resting on a lion, while the lady's feet are supported by a dog. The monument has obviously been executed during their lifetimes from the blanks still remaining on the brass, which tell, amid all the pomp of these anticipatory sepulchral honours, that no pious hand was found to grave the few simple additions requisite to have made of the dumb tablet a true memorial of the dead. The imperfect inscriptions are,—

"Hic sub ista sepultura jacet honorabilis et famosus miles dñs Alexander de Erbyn Secund qd̄z dñs de Droum de Achyndor et forglen qui obiit... die mens... anno dñi mccc..."

"Hic etiam jacet nobilis dña dña Elizabeth Keth filia quam dñi Robe<sup>ti</sup> de Keth militis Marescalli Sco<sup>ti</sup> uxoris dci dñi dñi Alexander de Erbyn quae obiit... die mens... Anno dñi mccc..."

Principal Gordon, of the Scots College, Paris, describes, in his "Remarks

remain in the Channel Islands. In the Town and Vale churches, and St. Martin's, Guernsey, are the indents of three small brasses of civilians and their wives, of the date of about the end of the fifteenth century. At St. Saviour's, in the same island, are matrices of inscriptions and a shield. All these brasses appear to have been of English workmanship.

The earliest brass of which we have any record was that of Simon

on a Journey to the Orkney Islands," made in 1781, the monument of Bishop Tulloch, the brass of which—"a plate of copper, full length of the grave"—was carried off by a party of Cromwell's soldiers. More recent plunderers have removed, within the last twenty years, a brass which had escaped the hands of previous devastators of the monastery of Inchcolm, in the Frith of Forth. Nor is it altogether impossible that others may even now remain safe under the protection of more modern flooring or superincumbent debris. The floor of St. Mary's Church at Leith was removed in the course of extensive alterations effected on it in 1848, and was found to cover the original paving, with inscriptions and armorial shields of early date. On the repair and rescating of Whitekirk parish church, East Lothian, a few years since, a large stone slab, which now lies in the adjoining churchyard, was removed from its original site in the chancel, and disclosed a remarkably fine matrix of what appears to have been the full-sized figure of an ecclesiastic, with canopy and surrounding inscription. Similar matrices are even now by no means rare. One of large size lies in the barn-yard of the Abbey-farm, in the vicinity of North Berwick Abbey. Another has been recently exposed within the area of the nave of Seton Church, East Lothian. Others are to be seen at Aberbrothoc, Dunfermline, and Dunblane, the last exhibiting traces of a large ornamental cross. One of unusual dimensions, which lies in the chancel of the Cathedral of Iona, is traditionally assigned to Macleod of Macleod. The representation of the full-length figure of a knight in armour may still be traced, with his sword by his side, and his feet resting on some animal. It has been surrounded with an inscription on an ornamental border, and tradition adds, was completed by a

plate, not of brass, but of silver." The slab is engraved in Graham's Monuments of Iona, p. 19, plate xxxiii. The tradition of slabs being wholly or partially inlaid with silver is not uncommon; it exists at Berry Pomeroy, Devon, and Brading in the Isle of Wight. See the account of Devonshire brasses by W. R. Crabbe, Esq., in the Trans. of the Exeter Dioc. Architectural Soc., vol. vi. pt. i. p. 111; and Holloway's Walks round Ryde, 1848, p. 106.

In the History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, by the Rev. James Graves, A.B., and J. G. A. Prim, Dublin, 1857, p. 129, note a, are notices of a few brasses formerly existing in Ireland. "Along with the indications [i. e. matrices of evangelistic symbols and inscriptions?] of their occurrence in the Cathedral of St. Canice, we have remaining the matrix of the effigial brass of Bishop Saunders (ob. 1549), in the Cathedral of Old Leighlin. Thomas Dineley, who travelled in Ireland in the reign of Charles II., gives a pen-and-ink sketch of the matrix of a fine canopied brass which was then preserved in the Cathedral of Cashel, commemorating Archbishop Hamilton; he also mentions several in Dublin, now lost. (MS. Tour, *penes* Sir T. E. Winington, Stanford Court, Worcestershire.) Waterford Cathedral was at one time rich in brasses. It was sworn before a Commission, appointed, after the Restoration, by the Irish House of Lords, to inquire into the plunder abstracted by the Cromwellian party from the Cathedral of Waterford, that numerous 'brasses, eschocheons, and atchments' were ruthlessly torn by them from 'the ancient tombes, many of which were almost covered with brasse.' Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, vol. ii. p. 78."

de Beauchamp, who died before 1208, thus mentioned by Leland<sup>s</sup>: —“ He lyith afore the highe Altare of *S. Paule's* Chirch in *Bedeford* with this Epitaphie graven in Bras and set on a flat Marble stone:—

*De Bello Campo jacet hic sub marmore Simon  
Fundator de Newenham.*”

Several others of the thirteenth century, now lost, are enumerated by Gough<sup>t</sup>. At the present time, the earliest English brass known is that of Sir John D'Abernon, 1277, Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey: one other of the same century, to Sir Roger de Trumpington, 1289, still remains at Trumpington, near Cambridge. From this period their numbers gradually increased until about the middle of the sixteenth century, when they became less common; the latest observed examples are at Leigh, Essex, 1709 (°), and St. Mary Cray, Kent, 1747, 1775<sup>u</sup>. It is remarkable that the earliest brasses are quite equal, in beauty of form and execution, to any of a later date. From the early part of the fifteenth century a gradual decline of the art is visible, and towards the end of the sixteenth century it became utterly degenerate. As brass inscriptions and shields on tombstones have continued in use up to the present time, and very numerous modern brasses have been laid down during the last dozen years, this style of memorial may be said to have existed in England for six centuries and a-half.

In deciding upon the date of a brass, the inscription is not invariably a safe guide, nor even in a few instances the costume of the figures: the style of engraving is the only unerring test of the date.

That the date on the inscription does not always mark the time of the engraving, the following observations will sufficiently shew.

First, brasses were often laid down *before* the death of the person represented, especially if he happened to be the founder of a church or chantry: examples occur at Cobham, Kent, 1407; Thame, Oxon,

<sup>s</sup> Itin. ed. 1768, vol. i. p. 112. At Ashbourn, in Derbyshire, is a small brass plate (7¼ in. by 4 in.), engraved with an inscription in Lombardic letters, commemorating the dedication of the church and consecration of the altar to St. Oswald, by Hugh de Patishul, Bp. of Coventry, in 1241. See *supra*, p. xiii.

note p.

<sup>t</sup> Sep. Mon., vol. i. p. ci. See too Cotman's Brasses, Introd., pp. vi, vii.

<sup>u</sup> At Yarnton, near Oxford, is a brass to Alderman Fletcher, who died in 1826: the figure is copied from one in St. Peter's-in-the-East.

c. 1460; and Bradford, Wilts., c. 1520. This was owing to the person commemorated wishing to have his monument completed under his own superintendence, instead of trusting to his executors\*. The same practice was adopted with "shroud and skeleton brasses;" the object being to lead the minds of their owners and spectators to the devout contemplation of their approaching end, to remind them "that the robes of pride will shortly be exchanged for the winding-sheet, and that beauty and strength are hastening to the period when they will become as the spectre before them‡." Instances are found at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Oddington and Cassington, Oxfordshire; on the brass of Thomas Nele, 1590, in the last-named church, are seven Latin lines, two of which are the following:—

"Hos egomet uersus posui mihi sanus, ut esset  
Hinc præuisa mihi mortis imago meæ‡."

Of similar character is an inscription at Sulhamstead, Berks. :—

"Extremum vite finem meditare viator,  
Tam cito cū videas oīa nata mori.  
En celum cōverte oculos, āplectere laudem,  
Dannosasq; huc dispice b[an]dicias."

"Radulphus Eper, Rector ecclesie p'ochialis de Sulhamsted Abbot, Jugiter de morte Cogitans, sibi viuens hoc monumentū posuit, Anno Salutis 1521."

\* From some verses printed in the account of inscriptions of the fifteenth century, it appears that executors had then the character of being slothful and grasping. See also Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 19.

‡ Cotman's *Brasses*, vol. ii. p. 51.

‡ See a communication on emaciated monumental effigies from the Author in *Notes and Queries*, 1st Ser. vol. vi. p. 393. Judging from these examples, we may not unreasonably infer that the preparation of his monument by Dr. John Donne was not so eccentric or singular an instance as might at first be supposed. The incident is thus related by Walton:—"A Monument being resolved upon, Dr. *Donne* sent for a Carver to make for him in wood the figure of an *Urn*, giving him directions for the compass and height of it; and to bring with it a board, of the just height of his body. 'These being got, then without delay a choice Painter was got to be in readiness to draw his picture, which was taken as

followeth.—Several charcoal fires being first made in his large Study, he brought with him into that place his winding-sheet in his hand, and having put off all his clothes, had this sheet put on him, and so tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so placed as dead bodies are usually fitted, to be shrowded and put into their coffin, or grave. Upon this *Urn* he thus stood, with his eyes shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside as might shew his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purposely turned towards the East, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our Saviour Jesus.' In this posture he was drawn at his just height; and when the picture was fully finished, he caused it to be set by his bedside, where it continued and became his hourly object till his death." Walton's *Lives*, London, 1825, p. 72. Dr. John Donne died in 1631. The effigy, carved in white marble, still remains in the crypt of St. Paul's, London.

In such cases, blanks were often left for the date to be inserted after decease; and when a brass was intended to commemorate more than one person, it was common to lay it down at the death of the first, and to leave a blank for the decease of the other. These blanks were almost always neglected to be filled up; so that when two or more dates are found in one inscription, the latest will almost invariably indicate the time of execution. Examples of filled-up dates are at Lillingstone Lovell, Oxon., 1471; Hadley, Middlesex, 1504; Amersham, Bucks., 1537; Denham, Bucks., 1544; Minchin Hampton, Gloucestershire, 1556; Thames Ditton, Surrey, 1586, &c.

Secondly, brasses were often laid down some years *after* the death of the persons commemorated; of which we have examples at Lambourn, Berks., 1372, and c. 1410; Little Horkesley, Essex, 1391, and 1412; Etchingham, Sussex, 1404, 1412, and 1444; Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks., 1398 and c. 1446; all these are placed by sons to their parents. Other instances may be seen at West Grinstead, Sussex, 1395 and c. 1440; Hillingdon, Middx., 1479 and 1509; Sawbridgeworth, Herts., 1551 and c. 1600; probably also at Little Casterton, Rutland, 1381 and c. 1410; and Cirencester, Gloucestershire, 1427, 1434, and c. 1470<sup>a</sup>.

Thirdly, brasses which had been previously laid down to one person, were in some cases used afterwards for another. These have been termed "Palimpsests," and may be divided into three classes:—

1. A more recent figure or inscription is engraved on the reverse side of the original. Although these can only be ascertained to be palimpsests by the brasses becoming unfixd from their slabs, yet a large number have been discovered. A very good instance may be seen at Cobham, Surrey, an armed figure, c. 1550, being engraved on the reverse of a priest holding a chalice, c. 1510. Similar specimens occur at Hedgerley, Bucks.<sup>b</sup>, 1540; St. John's, Maddermarket,

<sup>a</sup> Engravings will be found in this volume from similar brasses at Thame, Oxon, 1342, 1396, and c. 1420; Merton College, Oxford, 1387 and c. 1420; Wimborne Minster, Dorset, 872 and c. 1440. Cotman has engraved examples from Erpingham and Kimberley, Norfolk, 1370 and c. 1415, 1465 and c. 1520; also from Stoke, Suffolk, 1452 and c. 1535.

The brass in this church commemorates Margaret Bulstrode, 1540, and is

entirely made up of fragments of earlier brasses. On the reverse of the effigy is part of an epitaph in English verse, on that of some children, the lower portion of a figure of a bishop or abbot, c. 1530, shewing the chasuble, pastoral-staff, and dalmatic. At the back of a shield is a representation of our Saviour's resurrection, and behind the inscription a memorial of Thos. de Totyngton, Abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, who died 1312.

Norwich, c. 1440 and 1540; Boston, Lincolnshire, and Fryerning,



Palimpsest Brass at Cobham, Surrey, c. 1550 and c. 1510.

Essex, female figures, c. 1390 and c. 1460, c. 1470 and c. 1560; Berkhamstead, Herts., inscriptions, c. 1500 and c. 1530.

Many fragments of foreign brasses have been imported into this country and converted into palimpsests. The brasses at St. Mawgan, Cornwall, c. 1375, afford good examples<sup>c</sup>. Others of considerable interest, though of later date, have been discovered at Hadleigh, Suffolk, on the reverse of the metrical inscription to Rowland

(Archæol., vol. xxx. p. 121). This inscription (whose date is not before the sixteenth century) runs thus:—

To tynngton Thomas Edmūdi q̄t fuit abbas  
Hic sacet esto pia sibi ductx' u'go maria.

The verses behind the figure are only partially legible, and are as follows:—

. . . . s Edone: by hys . . . . . g'ue (?) stōne  
[A]o mane more gentyll myght be: To ryche and þore ful of bōwte.  
Allmyghty god of his grace: Þroudy hyn leke golde in the flornace.  
Gladdē he was here to be bette: lūng lame seke & sore ī his cawet.  
. . . . purgyd from synne: as a . . . . . of (?) bap(?)tyme.

In the fourth line *bette* probably means 'healed,' *cawet*, 'cot.' This inscription is now fastened down: the Author has copied it from a rubbing kindly furnished him by the Rector, the Rev. E. Baylis.

<sup>c</sup> See the engravings on pp. xvi., xvii.



Tailor, who was burnt at the stake in 1555, and at St. Peter, Mancroft, Norwich, at the back of the figure and inscription of Peter Rede, Esquire, 1568; the original brasses were those of civilians and their wives, of the early part of the sixteenth century, and had richly diapered backgrounds. Dutch inscriptions may be seen on the palimpsest brass of the Disney family, 1578 (?), at Norton Disney, Lincolnshire, and on the reverse of the inscription of John Dauntesay, 1559, at West Lavington, Wilts. The original legend at the latter place apparently records a gift to the masters or deacons of the congregation of the Holy Ghost at Westmonstre, a church formerly existing at Middleburgh, in Walcheren, but destroyed in 1575<sup>d</sup>.

In all these cases the original brasses have no doubt been sacrilegiously torn from their slabs. But some other palimpsests exist with the dates of the two engravings nearly identical, they are therefore most probably plates inaccurately engraved, or for other reasons never laid down. The plate at Walton-on-Thames<sup>e</sup> is an instance of this; as are also, in all probability, the figures of Abbot de la Moote, 1401? at St. Alban's, and a priest, c. 1460, at the Temple Church, Bristol, the reverses of which exhibit portions of female figures.

Sometimes an alteration was made in a memorial at the direction of the person commemorated. This no doubt was the case with a brass at Burwell, Cambridgeshire. The original figure represented an abbot in rich vestments, evidently intended for John Laurence de Wardeboys, Abbot of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, and laid down by him soon after his accession in 1508; after his resignation, in 1539, he, or his executors after his death in 1542, had the figure altered to the dress of a canon; the lower half of the original effigy was turned over and engraved on the back, but a fresh plate was required for the upper half<sup>f</sup>. The brass of Thomas Cod, 1465, at

<sup>d</sup> These inscriptions are printed in the Arch. Journ., vol. iv. pp. 362, 363. See also vol. v. p. 160. Fragments of foreign brasses converted into palimpsests may be also seen at the following places:—Luton? Beds.; Burwell, Camb.; Braunton, Devon; Wimbish, Essex; Cuxton and Westerham, Kent; Horncastle, Lincolnshire; Isleworth, Middx.; Paston and Salle, Norfolk; Halesworth, Suffolk; and a few are in private possession.

<sup>e</sup> See *supra*, p. xxxiv. The Author has

been informed by F. C. Carrington, Esq., that a modern monument to Anthony Wilshire, Esq., at Berkeley, Gloucestershire, was purchased second-hand, being disapproved of by the persons who ordered it to be made; the white marble slab containing the inscription has probably been reversed and engraved on the back.

<sup>f</sup> See an article in the publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society on Palimpsest Sepulchral Brasses, by A. W.

St. Margaret's, Rochester, may possibly be another instance of this practice. It consists of an inscription surmounted by the half-length figure of an ecclesiastic, habited in surplice, cope, and amice. Behind this is a similar effigy, the same size, but wearing the *almuce* instead of the amice, and perhaps engraved a few years earlier, as it much resembles a brass at Fladbury, Worcestershire, of the date 1458 g.

2. The second description of palimpsest brasses best deserves that name<sup>h</sup>, for the plate is not turned over and engraved on the opposite side, but the original figure is altered and appropriated to another person of later date and costume. Three or four instances only have been noticed. The best exists at Waterpery, near Oxford, and is represented on the adjoining page. A brass, of the date c. 1440-50, has been altered to suit the style of dress worn about the year 1527; in the male figure a new head and shoulders have been substituted for the original; a skirt of plate armour has been altered into mail, the plates in front of the armpits have been partially erased, additional defences placed over the breast-plate, gussets of mail added at the insteps, the pointed toes rounded, and the various edges of the armour invecked and shaded: in the lady's figure the upper half is a fresh plate, or the old one reversed; the lower half shews the engraving of the original brass, altered by the addition of shading and an ornament suspended by a chain<sup>i</sup>.

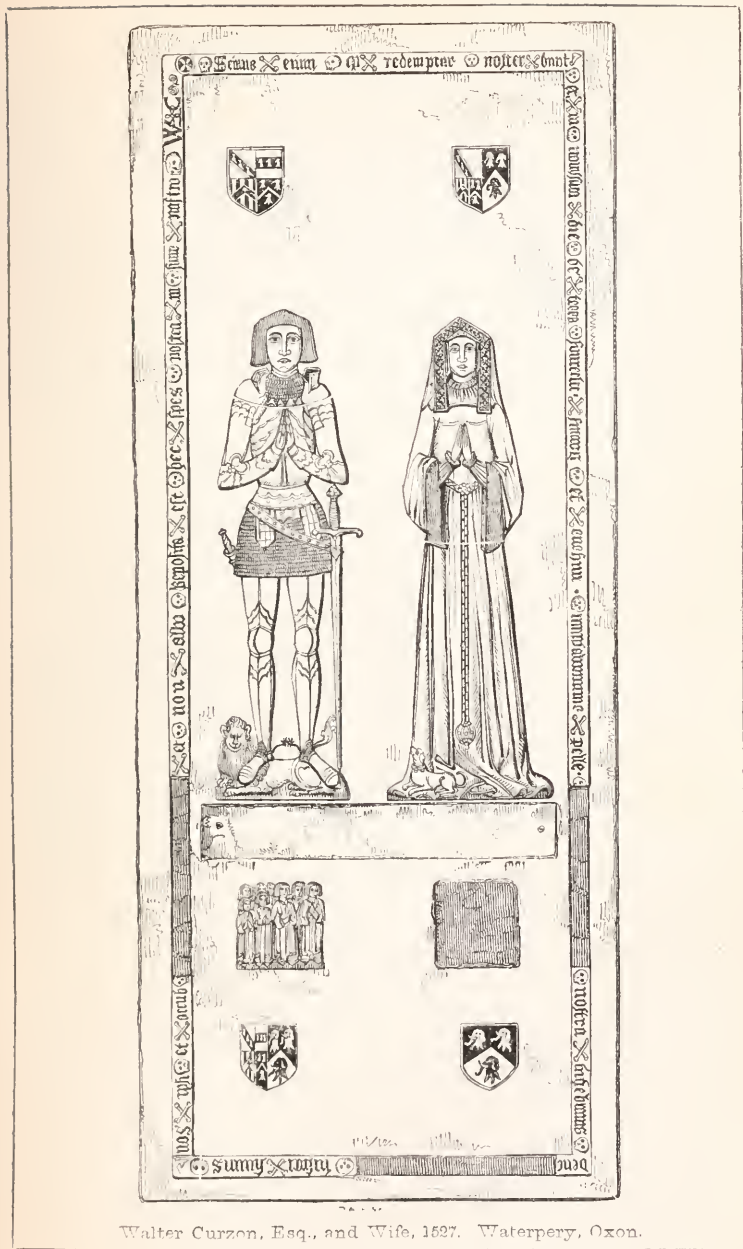
Franks, Esq., with an engraving of the brass at Burwell by Messrs. Waller. The lower half of the original figure of the Abbot will be found below as an illustration in the description of the chasuble.

<sup>g</sup> Palimpsests of this kind occur at the following churches:—Flitton, Beds.; West Malling and Westerham, Kent; Northolt, Middx.; Felmingham, Halvergate, Ranworth, and Southacre, Norfolk; Howden, Yorks., &c. The palimpsests at Hedgerley and Rochester are now fastened by hinges, to allow both sides of the plate to be examined.

<sup>h</sup> The employment of the term "Palimpsest" in reference to brasses was first suggested by Mr. Albert Way. The word means "scraped again," (Græc. *παλίψηστος*, Lat. *palimpsestus*.) and was used of parchments from which, for the sake of economy, one writing had been erased to make way

for another. Cicero, in a letter to Trebatius, (Epist. ad Fam., lib. vii. ep. xviii.) playfully alludes to the practice:—"Nam quod in *palimpsesto*, laudo equidem parsimoniam. Sed miror, quid in illa chartula fuerit, quod delere malueris, quam hæc scribere; nisi forte tuas formulas. Non enim puto te meas epistolas delere ut reponas tuas." Coins were sometimes subjected to a similar operation:—"Non raro numis jam olim signatis novi utrinque typi ope alterius matricis fuerunt impressi, cujus generis numos solemus vocare *recusos*." *Doctrina numorum veterum* a Josepho Eckhel. Vindobonæ 1792, vol. i. cap. xii. § 6, p. 66.

<sup>i</sup> The male effigy, before its alteration, resembled a brass at Hildersham, Cambridge, with the armour of the arms like one at Cheddar, Somerset. See the engravings in the description



Walter Curzon, Esq., and Wife, 1527. Waterperry, Oxon.

Another instance is, or rather was, to be seen at Okeover, in Staffordshire; here a military effigy, of the date 1447, has had a tabard engraved over the plate armour, and slight shading added to the figure, to adapt it to the memorial of one of the Oker family who deceased in 1538. The small brass of Sir Robert Hanson, Vicar, 1545, at Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks., exhibits a third instance. The original figure, of about the date 1410, has had the pointed toes rounded, and shading added to the vestments to suit the style prevalent a century later.

3. In the last class of palimpsests the original figure remains unaltered, but a fresh inscription, shield, &c., are introduced. We have instances at Bromham, Beds., c. 1430 and 1535; Laughton, Lincolnshire, c. 1400 and 1549; Isleworth, Middx., c. 1450 and 1544; St. Stephen's, Norwich, c. 1410 and 1546<sup>k</sup>; Great Ormsby, Norfolk, c. 1440 and 1538; Horley, Surrey, c. 1420 and 1516; Ticehurst, Sussex, c. 1370 and c. 1510. The last example represents John Wybarne, Esq., 1489, in armour, between his two wives, with an inscription below<sup>l</sup>. The male effigy only is of the earlier date, and is twice the size of the others.

Some palimpsests are a combination of the above varieties; as Waterpery of the first<sup>m</sup> and second, and Okeover of all three. The original brass at the latter place is of great interest; it

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of military brasses of the fifteenth century. The female figure was like that at Hampton Poyle, Oxon., used as an illustration of ladies' costume in the same century.

<sup>k</sup> Engravings from the brasses at Laughton, Isleworth, and Norwich will be found in this volume. The brass of Thos. Fogg, Esq., 1512, Ashford, Kent, probably belonged to this class. The inscription remains, but the figure has been removed; the outline of the indent seems to indicate a costume of an earlier date than that of the legend beneath. With respect to this description of palimpsests it is important to ascertain that no mistake has been made in relaying, as at Haddenham, Bucks.; Wimpole, Camb.; Digswell, Herts.; Chartham, Kent, where wrong inscriptions have been attached to the figures.

<sup>l</sup> In an article on this brass in the Sussex Arch. Collections, vol. viii. p. 19, the Rev. Chas. Gaunt quotes the will

of Agnes Wybarne, made Feb. 20, 1502, and proved Nov. 25, 1503, by which she directs "her ex(ec)utors to bye a convenient stone to laye upon my husbande's Johu Wybarne's grave and myne, in the chancel of Tyseherst." Mr. Gaunt considers the male effigy to have been engraved at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but the style of workmanship, and its disproportionate size when compared with the other figures, prove it to be a much older brass. Other brasses, with figures apparently engraved at an earlier date than the inscription or other parts of the design, may be found at Eton College, Bucks., 1521; Wyddial, Herts., 1545; Hackney, Middx., 1545; Charwelton, Northants., 1541.

<sup>m</sup> It is probable that the whole of the marginal legend is engraved on the reverse side, as the portion inscribed *bisuri sumus* is loose, and exhibits on the back [A]ugusti mense Kam[p].

consisted at first of the effigy of William, fifth Baron Lord Zouch, of Haringworth, Northants., in armour, with his feet resting on his crest, a staff couped and raguly, on which two ravens are perched; on either side was the figure of a wife, and above, a fine triple canopy; a marginal inscription surrounded the whole. Lord Zouch died in 1462, but the monument was laid down probably at Haringworth, in 1447, on the death of his wife Alice, a daughter of Richard Lord St. Maur. The brass was afterwards brought to Okeover, after having been converted into the memorial of Humphrey Oker, Esquire, who died in 1538, his wife, and their eight sons and five daughters. This has been effected by altering the centre effigy as before described, leaving the figure of the lady on the right untouched, but reversing the other and engraving on its back a crest, shield, and the figures of the children in three rows one above the other. The inscription also has been turned over, and a fresh one engraved on the back, and additional shields added below the finials of the canopy; but, curiously enough, the badge of Lord Zouch has been suffered to remain at the feet of his effigy<sup>a</sup>.

It has before been stated<sup>o</sup> that the costume of the exact period when the brasses were engraved was represented very faithfully on them; and this practice was so rigidly adhered to, that persons, whose effigies were engraved several years after their decease, are portrayed in costume they never wore. For instance, at Hawstead, Suffolk, the figure of Jane, the first wife of Sir William Drury, and who died in 1517, is attired in the dress worn by ladies at the time of her husband's death, which was forty years later. The effigy at Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks., of William Whappelode, who deceased in 1398, was no doubt laid down at the death of his son in 1446, and represents him in the armour of a knight of the middle of the fifteenth century.

<sup>a</sup> This brass has unfortunately been lately stolen from the church, the portions which were recovered were found broken into small fragments ready for the melting-pot. A beautiful engraving of it is given in Messrs. Waller's series of Monumental Brasses. From a rubbing of the reverse of the inscription, taken by A. W. Franks, Esq., the author is enabled to print some fragments of the original. The words of the latter are enclosed in brackets:—  
 ✠ Here vnder thys stone lyeth b. [✠  
 hic iacent Willms Dns la zouc] . . .

Oker Esquier suuntyme Lord of Oker  
 and Esabell hy—s wyfe Dowghter of  
 John Asto Esquier & Dame Esabech  
 Thys wyfe the whiche humt [cc  
 Et Dña Alicia vxor eius filia & heres  
 Ricidni de Seymo . . . D] . . . decessyde  
 the xrb<sup>o</sup> day of Aprill the yere of our  
 lord [que obiit xij<sup>o</sup> di . . . mens' Julij  
 Ao dni m cccc xlvi] . . . Hy . . . Soules  
 & all cristen soul' Jhu haue m'cf amē  
 [. . . cc . . . ce<sup>o</sup> Quor' aīabz pīcīctur  
 Deus Amen.]

<sup>o</sup> Supra, p. xxxi.

But a few examples occur which shew that the costume is not always a sure indication of date. In the beautiful brass at Little Horkesley, Essex, of Sir Thomas Swynborne, 1391, and his son Sir Robert, 1412, the father is represented in a suit of armour which he might actually have worn, although the brass was engraved at his son's death. Similar instances are at St. Columb Major, Cornwall, 1602 and 1633; Lambourn, Berks., 1372 and c. 1410. In these three monuments, which were placed by children to their parents, there is a manifest propriety in the alteration of the costume; but there are some brasses in which a much earlier costume than that worn by the deceased is adopted without any apparent reason.

Brasses of this kind are mere copies of older memorials, and are therefore liable to be mistaken for the third description of palimpsests, from which they are to be distinguished chiefly by the style of engraving, which is the only unerring criterion of date. The most remarkable of these are two kneeling figures, c. 1600, in heraldic dresses, of the Garneys family, at Ringsfield, Suffolk, evidently copied from a similar brass at Kenton, in the same county, of the date 1524, to two of their ancestors. In the church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, is a brass to Peter Rede, Esq., 1568, in which he is depicted in the armour of a century earlier<sup>p</sup>. The armed effigy of Christopher Playters, Esq., at Sotterley, Suffolk, who died in 1547, although apparently engraved about thirty-five years after that date, yet seems to be a copy of a brass of the early part of the former century. Two brasses at Pluckley, Kent, engraved c. 1600? present



Peter Rede, Esq., 1568.  
St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich.

similar peculiarities. The figure at Sefton, Lancashire, of Sir Wm. Molineux, who thrice bravely fought the Scots, and took two standards at Flodden-field, represents him in a hood of chain-mail, a species of defence which had fallen into disuse long before his death in 1548<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> The figure and the inscription were engraved at the same time, as their reverses exhibit portions of the same

foreign brass converted into a palimpsest.

<sup>q</sup> J. G. Waller, Esq., in a Paper on

In a very few cases a brass may be seen to have been restored by a later hand, as at Wimborne Minster, Dorset, where a fresh inscription has been placed beneath the effigy of King Ethelred. The figure of Isabella Barstaple, in the chapel of Trinity Almshouse, Bristol, c. 1411, is a restored copy of an older one. The palimpsest brass at Laughton, Lincolnshire, has had the pinnacles of the canopy restored, probably at the time of its appropriation by the Dalisons in 1549. The effigy of Sir John de Northwode, c. 1330, at Minster, in Sheppy, has undergone a peculiar Procrustean process, several inches having been removed from the centre of the figure, to make it equal in length to that of his wife. The legs have been restored and crossed at the ancles, an attitude apparently not contemplated by the original designer. From the style of engraving, these alterations seem to have been made at the close of the fifteenth century<sup>r</sup>.

Sometimes a later figure or inscription, to one of the same family, was inlaid in an earlier memorial; thus at Southfleet, Kent, an inscription, of the date 1594, has been added to the figures of John Sedley and wife, c. 1520. At Slaugham, Sussex, the figure of a

Monumental Brasses in Cheshire and Lancashire, contributed to vol. v. of the *Journ. of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, suggests that this peculiarity may be accounted for by supposing that Sir William hastily arrayed himself in the armour of his ancestors, and went thus out to meet the enemy. This is, of course, very uncertain. As the brass was probably engraved several years after his decease, the artist may have received directions to represent him in his proper costume, and through ignorance armed him with the *coif-de-mail*. Brasses in which the general character of an earlier design has been imitated, are at Hunstanton, 1506, Dunston, 1619, Norfolk. The former brass may have been partly suggested by that of Sir Hugh Hastings, at Elsing; the latter, by that of the Blomevilles, at Loddon, in the same county. The canopy of Archbishop Jacobus de Senno (Sieninski), 1480, at Gnesen, Poland, "is evidently a coarse and inferior copy of those which occur in Flemish brasses of the fourteenth century."—*Arch. Journ.*, vol. x. p. 252. In the Church of North Ockendon, Essex, is a very curious series of small stone effigies of the Poyntz family, sculp-

tured in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and representing some of them tolerably correctly in the costume of an earlier period, which was probably derived from paintings or ancient monuments.

<sup>r</sup> See the engraving *supra*, p. xxiii.; the legs are omitted, as being recent additions. Modern restorations of brasses may be seen at St. John's, Margate; St. Margaret's, Canterbury; Ewelme and Merton College, Oxon.; Burford, Salop; Northiam, Sussex; Wellesbourn, Warwickshire; Fladbury, Worcestershire; Crosthwaite, Cumberland; Stopham, Sussex; Cirencester, Gloucestershire. In the last three churches fresh heads have been affixed to mutilated effigies; at Cirencester a head has been fastened on the waist of a female figure! The other brasses have chiefly had the inscriptions replaced. There is, generally speaking, no likelihood of these repairs being mistaken for original work; at St. John's, Margate, for instance, the figure of John Parker and wife have been miserably recut. Restorations in much better taste may be seen at Banwell, Somerset, and Bagington, Warwickshire, both by Messrs. Waller, and at Watton, Herts., by Messrs. Dean.

third wife has been inserted in the brass of Richard Covert, Esq., 1547, and at St. Nicholas at Wade, Kent, an effigy of Thomas Parramore, the second husband of Joane Edvarod, who died in 1574, has been added to the brass of her former husband and his two wives. At Chesham Bois, Bucks., a curious instance of the same kind is found: to the brass of Elizabeth Cheyne, 1516, have been added, in 1552, a larger figure of her husband and another inscription.

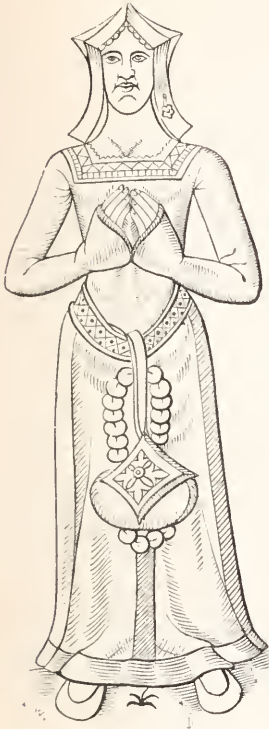
Brasses to the same person are found in different churches: the usual case being that of a husband buried in one church and his wife in another, each having a brass containing one or both figures. Thus at Childrey, Berks., are the figures of John Kyngeston, Esq., and Susan his wife; the former of whom, dying in 1514, was buried at Childrey, and the latter becoming a "vowes," and dying in 1540, was interred at Shalston, Bucks., and commemorated by another brass figure in the dress of a nun. At Halton, Bucks., Henry Bradshawe, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1553, is there represented with his wife Joan, who died in 1598, and was buried at Noke, Oxon, where there is a brass with figures of herself, Henry Bradshawe, and a former husband. In like manner Anne Duke, upon the death of her first husband, George Duke, Esq., in 1551, was with him commemorated by a brass at Frenze, Norfolk; she afterwards married Peter Rede, Esq., who died in 1568; upon her own decease, in 1577, she was buried at St. Margaret's, Norwich, where there is a single brass to herself\*. Other examples of a similar kind may be found in the brasses of John Gunter and wife, 1624 and 1626, at Kintbury, Berks., and Cirencester, Gloucestershire, and of Bishop Robinson, 1616, at Carlisle Cathedral and Queen's College, Oxford. In Layer Marney Church, Essex, is the stone effigy of John Lord Marney, 1524, and at the sides of his tomb were brass figures of his two wives, but these are now lost. His second wife, Bridget, married again, died in 1549, and by her will ordered "three brass pictures" of herself and her two husbands to be placed on her tomb at Little Horkesley, Essex, where they are

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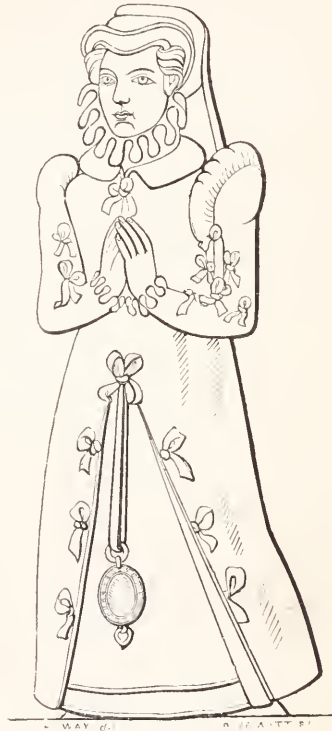
\* The annexed engravings, which exhibit the change of costume, originally illustrated an article on brasses by the Rev. William Drake, in the Arch. Journ., vol. ii. p. 247.



still<sup>t</sup>. Ralph Hamsterley, Master of University College, who died in 1518, had brasses in the chapels of University, Merton, and



Anne Duke, 1551.



Anne Rede. 1577.

Queen's Colleges, and also at Oddington, Oxon. : only that at the last-named place now remains<sup>u</sup>.

Indeed, two brasses to the same individual are sometimes found in the same church ; as at Filleigh, Devon, Richard Fortescue, 1570 ; at Southfleet, Kent, Joan Urban, alone 1414, and conjoined with her husband 1420 ; at Loddon, Norfolk, Anne Hobert, alone 1530,

<sup>t</sup> See Sir H. Nicolas's *Test. Vetusta*, pp. 627, 727.

<sup>u</sup> Bp. Stanley has a chantry chapel and a monument in each of the cathedrals of Ely and Manchester. According to Weever, (*Fun. Mon.*, p. 444.) Bp. Bowthe, whose brass exists at East Horsley, Surrey, had an inscription at

St. Clement Danes, London. At Chingford, Essex, is a brass with effigies to Robt. Rampston, Gent., 1585 ; several inscriptions to his memory have also been placed in the churches of the neighbouring parishes, as Walthamstow, to which he was a benefactor.

and with her husband 1561; at Dautesey, Wilts., Dame Anne Danvers, with her husband 1514, and by herself c. 1530; at Staveley, Derbyshire, Peyrs Freychwell, Esq., in tabard, separately c. 1480, and with his wife and family 1503. The same arrangement occurs at Ruthin, Denbighshire, in the brasses of Edward Goodman, 1560 and 1583. In Fairford Church, Gloucestershire, are brasses on the floor to Sir Edmund Tame and his two wives, 1534; and against the wall small kneeling figures of the same persons. The same occurs in the brasses of John Cottesmore Judge, and wife, 1439, at Brightwell-Baldwin, Oxon., and of Joan Brokes, 1487, Pepperharrow, Surrey. At Sherborne St. John, Hants., is a brass now removed from its slab and placed against the wall: it consisted of a border-inscription, enclosing the figure of Bernard Brokas, Esq., 1488? kneeling before a cross which is now lost; beneath was a skeleton, representing the same individual, in a shroud. Similar brasses remain at Horncastle, Lincolnshire, 1519; Leigh, Kent, c. 1580; and Pimperne, Dorset, 1694. The last instances exhibit a practice similar to that which obtained with respect to stone effigies; two figures were often sculptured, the one above vigorous and in full costume, the other, an emaciated figure in a shroud<sup>x</sup>.

At Depden, Suffolk, two figures of the same person are found in the same brass; Lady Anne, widow of Geo. Waldegrave, Esq., and afterwards wife of Sir Thos. Jermyn, being represented with each of her husbands; she died in 1572.

Some examples remain which shew that brasses were occasionally used for other purposes than merely commemorating the individual deceased. Thus at Yeovil, Somerset, a demi-figure of a monk, c. 1460? is engraved on a letter: and it is very probable that the later altar-tombs inlaid with brasses, and usually placed against the north wall of the chancel, were frequently used as Easter sepulchres. We know that in one well-authenticated instance, at Stanwell, Middx., the tomb of Thos. Windsor, Esq., 1485<sup>y</sup>, was so used.

<sup>x</sup> Memorial windows and monuments to one and the same person frequently occur in the same or different churches, as at Dautesey, Wilts.

<sup>y</sup> In his will, dated 1479, and proved 1485, he directs "that ther be made a playn tombe of marble of a competent

height, to tentent that yt may ber the blesid body of our Lord and the sepulture at the tyme of Estre, to stond upon the same, and with myne Armes and a Scriptur convenient to be set about the same tombe," &c. See Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 74, ed. 1779. This

Sometimes the slabs in which brasses are inlaid have small crosses at the corners: as these are found of a date before the Reformation, it is not unlikely that they were used for sacred purposes, perhaps as chantry altars<sup>2</sup>. Examples occur at Dorchester, Oxon., on the tombstone of Abbot Sutton, 1349; at Stifford, Essex, on the slab of David de Tillebery, c. 1350<sup>3</sup> (at Tempsford, Beds., on an incised slab, c. 1360<sup>a</sup>); and at St. Cross, Winchester, 1502. The brasses at Little Horkesley, Essex, 1549; St. Clement's, Sandwich, Kent, 1583; and New College, Oxford, 1592, have certainly been inlaid in altar-slabs, and most probably another, also subsequent to the Reformation, at Bray, Berks., from which the brass (that of Ursula Norris, 1560?) has been torn.

It is a point of some interest to ascertain the cost of brasses at the several dates of their execution. The materials for such an enquiry are to be found in the directions left in wills to executors; but the number is small of those in which the design



Monumental Slab of Abbot Sutton, 1349.  
Dorchester, Oxon.

tomb is now removed to the west end of the north aisle, and the brasses have disappeared. The altar-tomb of Christopher Urswyck, 1521, which was against the north wall of the chancel of the old church at Hackney, was probably used for the same purpose, to which an allusion may be intended in the words of the inscription: "*hic scultus carnis resurrectionem in aduentu christi expectat.*"

<sup>2</sup> Compare the tombstone engraved in Borlase's Cornwall, and mentioned supra, p. v. In Hasted's Kent, vol. iii. p. 302, is an engraving of a credence-table on the south side of the chancel of Brabourne Church, Kent. "It is of

black marble, and is sculptured with a cross inscribed in a circle, flanked with apparently matrices of inscriptions on brass."—*Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. iii. p. 83.

<sup>a</sup> The slabs at Stifford and Tempsford have five crosses on each of them; that at the latter place is figured in Fisher's Coll. for Beds. At St. Alban's Abbey is a chantry-altar which had brasses at the side. Brasses are often inlaid in old tombstones, as at Braunton, Clovelly, and Stoke-in-Teignhead, Devon. At Cople, Beds., in the south chantry, may be seen a slab, now despoiled of its brasses, in which a later and larger figure had been placed over the indent of a smaller one.

and the sum to be expended are specified; and in some cases where they are stated, the brasses are not extant to guide us. Some approximation, however, to the truth may be made by comparing the few notices that follow; from which it also appears that the earlier brasses were much more expensive than the later.

Sir John de St. Quintin, by his will dated 1397, left xx. marks for a marble stone to be placed over himself and his two wives, with three images of laton upon it. The brass still remains at Brandsburton, Yorks.; the figures are the size of life, but that of one wife only appears on it<sup>b</sup>.

Sir Thomas Ughtred, in 1398, bequeathed x*l*. for a marble stone to be inlaid with two images in laton of his father and mother, and placed over their tomb at Catton, Yorkshire<sup>c</sup>.

In 1399 Sir Philip Darcy left by his will x*l*. for a similar monument to himself and his wife<sup>d</sup>.

Thomas Graa, son of William Graa, citizen of York, in 1405, left the sum of cs. for a like memorial to himself and his wife<sup>e</sup>.

Maud Lady Mauley, 1438, left xx. marks for a marble stone with her portraiture thereon in copper or latten gilt<sup>f</sup>.

The brass of Sir John Curson and lady, 1471, Belaugh, Norfolk, consists of two figures, about three feet and a-half long, four shields, and an inscription, for the making of which Sir John left viii. marks<sup>g</sup>.

Katherine, widow of John Fastolf, Esq., in 1478, ordered seven or eight marks to be spent in providing a stone to be laid over her own and her husband's grave. The figures, which were two feet and a-half long, have lately been stolen from the church<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Testamenta Eboracensia, published by the Surtees Society, 1836, No. clxviii. p. 215, cited in the Gloss. of Archit., art. "Brasses:" "Item do et lego viginti mareas ad emendam quandam petram de marble, super corpus meum et corpora Loræ nuper uxoris meæ et Agnetis uxoris meæ jacendam, cum tribus ymaginibus de laton supra dictam petram punctis."

<sup>c</sup> Ibid., No. clxxvii. p. 243: "Item lego ad emendam unam petram marmoream indentatam cum duabus ymaginibus patris mei et matris meæ de laton, sculptis in armis meis, et in armis de les Burdons, ad ponendum super sepulcrum domini Thomæ Ughtred patris mei, et Willielmi filii mei, in ecclesia

parochiali de Catton dictæ Ebor. dioceseos x*l*."

<sup>d</sup> Ibid., No. clxxxv. p. 255: "Item volo quod executores mei ponant super sepulcrum meum lapidem marmoreum operatum cum duabus ymaginibus de laton, ad similitudinem mei et Elizabethæ uxoris meæ, de precio x*l*."

<sup>e</sup> Ibid., No. cexl. p. 339: "Lego ad unum lapidem marmoreum super corpus meum ponendum cum imaginibus mei et Matildis nuper uxoris meæ impressis es."

<sup>f</sup> Nicolas's Test. Vetusta, p. 235.

<sup>g</sup> Cotman's Norf. Brasses, p. 23.

<sup>h</sup> "And I will that the stone which now lies over the burial-place of the said John Fastolf be removed, and placed

George Catesby, Esq., who died in 1505, "by his Testament, bearing date 8 *Maii*, 19 H. 7, bequeathed his Body to be buried in the Church of *Ashby Legers*, before the Image of the *Holy Trinity*, in his Chapell there, appointing that two Marble Stones, Price of each *vił. xiiis. iiiiđ.*, should be brought thither, one to be layd upon his Father and Mother, and the other upon himself, as a Memoriall for him and his Wife<sup>1</sup>." A small kneeling figure in brass is supposed to commemorate George Catesby, Esq. The brass of his father, Sir William Catesby, and mother still remains in a tolerably perfect state; it consists of two figures in heraldic dresses under a fine double canopy.

By his will, bearing date Oct. 1, 1509, Sir Thomas Marriot, Clerk and Parish Priest of Newington, directed the sum of *xxs.* or thereabouts to be expended on his tombstone, which was probably inlaid with brass<sup>1</sup>.

In the south chantry of All Saints' Church, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, is an altar-tomb, having twenty sculptured figures of knights, ladies, ecclesiastics, &c., under canopies ranged along the side and ends, and above a slab of dark-coloured marble, with the traces of two figures, four shields, and a border inscription in brass. This monument, which commemorates Henry Foljambe, Esq., and wife,

over the grave of Thomas Sampson my late son; and another stone, to the value of seven or eight marks, be provided by my executors, inlaid with the arms of John Sampson and the aforesaid John Fastolf, my late husbands; and with the arms of Roger Welysham, my father, and with the arms of Bedingfeld; and that the said stone shall lay over the sepulchre of the said John Fastolf, and my own grave." Suckling's Suffolk, vol. ii. p. 40.

<sup>1</sup> Dugd. Warw. (ed. 1765), p. 554, quoted in Baker's Northants., vol. i. p. 243:—

"Sir *William Catesby*, grandson of John, in conjunction with Sir Richard [Robert?] Ratcliffe and viscount Lovell, formed the triumvirate which gave rise to the memorable distich:—

"The Rat, the Cat, and Lovell our dog,  
Rule all England under the *hog*;"

alluding to king Richard III. having adopted a boar for one of his supporters. For this poetical libel, Collingbourn, the author, was 'hanged, headed, and quar-

tered' on Tower-hill. Sir William followed the fortunes of his royal master to the fatal field of Bosworth, where he was taken prisoner, and three days after beheaded at Leicester." His death "is *ante dated* five days in the epitaph; and it is not improbable but the error was wilful, and intended to raise doubts of his tragical end in the minds of posterity, by placing his decease prior to the battle of Bosworth." Baker's Northants., vol. i. pp. 242, 251.

<sup>1</sup> "I will that my executors provide and ordain a marble stone, with an image and portraiture of our Saviour J'hu and of a priest kneeling, with a cedule (schedule) in his hand, to the foot of the said image of J'hu, and in the cedule written these words,

J'hu fili Dei vivi miserere mei,  
and other writings, with my name, in due order, to be added to the same, to lie on my grave, the which stone, with the portraiture and writings, to be to the order and value of *xxs.* or thereabouts." Test. Vetusta, p. 495.

was contracted for by Henry Harpur and William Moorecock, of Burton, in Staffordshire, c. 1510, at a cost of ten pounds<sup>k</sup>.

Robert Fabyan, the well-known chronicler, who died 1512, left full instructions to his executors for the erection of a small mural brass, the cost of which was not to exceed liiis. ivd.<sup>l</sup>

Dr. Henry Mowndford, or Mounteforth, "curate" of St. Mary's, Coslany, Norwich, who died in 1518, left forty-six shillings and eightpence for his gravestone, which still remains, and bears an inscription in five lines on a brass plate<sup>m</sup>.

Nicholas Bossvell, who founded a chantry at Coningsborough, Yorks., and died in 1523, bequeathed forty shillings "to order a through stone to lay over his grave, with sculpture of laton of the same<sup>n</sup>."

In the same year, Robert Goseborne, Clerk, left ivl. xs. to be expended for a marble stone, which still remains at St. Alphege, Canterbury, and is inlaid with brass<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> On the 3rd of October, temp. Hen. VII., an agreement was entered into between the sons and wife (Bennett, daughter of Sir Wm. Vernon, of Nether Haddon) and "Henry Moorecock, of Burton in Staffordshire, to make a tomb for Henry Foljambe, husband of Bennett, in St. Mary's Quire, in the Church of All Hallows, in Chesterfield, and to make it as good as is the tomb of Sir Nicholas Montgomery at Colley, with 18 images under the table, and the arms upon them; and the said Henry in *copper and gilt* upon the table of marble, with two arms at the head and two arms at the feet of the same, and the table of marble to be of a whole stone, and all fair marble. They paid in hand £5, and the other £5 when all is performed; the 26th October, the 2nd Hen. VIII." *Collectanea Topog. Geneal.*, vol. i. pp. 354, 355. It is probable that the contractors executed the stone-work only of the tomb.

<sup>l</sup> "I will that if I deceasse within the cite of London, that within three yeers following, myn executors doo make in the walle nere unto my grave, a littell tumber of freestone, upon the which I will be spent liiis. ivd. at the moost, and in the face of this tumber, I will be made in too plates of laton ii. figurys of a man and a woman with x. men children and vi. women children, and over or above

the said figurys I will be made a figure of the Fader of Heven inclosed in a some, and from the man figure I will be made a rolle to be graven O Pater in celis; and from the figure of the woman another lyke rolle wherein to be graven Nos tecum pascere velis; and at the feete of the said figurys I will be graven these ix. verses following," &c. If he were buried at Theydon Gernon, Essex, "the figure of our Lady with her Child sitting on a sterr" was to be substituted for that of the Deity, some shields were to be added, and the scrolls and inscription were to be different. *Test. Vetusta*, p. 510. He was buried in St. Michael's, Cornhill, London, but his tomb has long been defaced. *Weever, Fun. Mon.*, p. 416.

<sup>m</sup> "Item I will have a stone of Marble with j Epitaphy in Verses, which I have wretyn in a Bil, to the Price of 46s. 8d. or more, to lye upon my Grave." *Blomfield's Norfolk*, ed. 1745, vol. ii. p. 838. Richard Wallour, 1505, first chantry priest at St. Michael's, Coslany, Norwich, left similar directions for his monument, but without any price specified. *Ibid.*, p. 843.

<sup>n</sup> *Hunter's South Yorkshire*, vol. i. p. 121.

<sup>o</sup> *Test. Vetusta*, p. 596. The brass figure measures 2 ft. 3 in., and has an inscription in six lines, and four shields.

Ralph Hayman, of Milton, in Kent, 1598, gave *ivl.* for a marble stone graved with his picture (in brass<sup>p</sup>), and those of his three wives, three sons, and four daughters<sup>p</sup>.

The next point in order is to review the various subjects which are represented on brasses, the first and principal of which is of course the figure, and secondly, its accessory parts, viz., canopy, inscriptions, and emblems. For convenience of arrangement and description, brasses in the following chronological account are divided into four classes: Ecclesiastics, Military figures, Civilians, and Ladies. A somewhat different order will be adopted in the following remarks, with the hope of rendering them more useful in the study of these monuments in detail. There are some portions of the designs on brasses which are invariable, or nearly so, during the successive eras: as the ecclesiastical vestments, the judges' robes, and certain emblems; whereas other parts, as the armour, exhibit a series of changes. The unvarying particulars will first be considered; but before doing so there are a few remarks to be made on the general design and arrangements of the parts.

When it is remembered that stone effigies in relief were in general use before the employment of brasses, and that the latter were indeed imitations of the former on a flat surface, a general resemblance between these two classes of memorials would be expected; and such is the case: the early brasses also, as might be anticipated, are most like their predecessors. The figures on the earlier brasses are usually represented in a recumbent posture, with their heads resting on cushions or helmets, and their feet on lions, dogs, &c. On those of later date a standing or kneeling attitude prevailed. The hands are commonly raised in the posture of devotion, often bear various emblems, and are sometimes crossed over the breast, especially in foreign examples, as at St. Alban's, and Wensley, Yorks. English specimens with the hands crossed occur at Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire, c. 1470; Sotherley, Suffolk, 1479; and on shroud brasses, as at Aylsham, Norfolk, 1499. Occasionally the husband holds the hand of his wife, as at Berkhamstead, Herts., 1356; Chrishall, Essex, c. 1370; Southacre, Norfolk, 1384; Draycot Cerne, Wilts., 1393; Little Shelford, Cambridge, c. 1400; Dartmouth, Devon, 1403; Owston, Yorks., 1409; Trotton, Sussex,

1419; Herne, Kent, c. 1420; Wilmslow, Cheshire, 1460; Nether Heyford, Northants., 1487; Stanstead-Abbots, Herts., c. 1540; Hadleigh, Suffolk, 1637; St. Sepulchre's, Northampton, 1640. In their brass at St. John's Sepulchre, Norwich, 1597, John Browne and his sister are represented with joined hands<sup>q</sup>.

The figures of the husband and his wife were generally placed together in one brass, and in a few instances engraved on the same plate, as at Allerton Mauleverer, Yorks., 1400; Islington, London, c. 1535; Stanstead-Abbots, Herts., c. 1540; Dean, Northants., 1587. Two different brasses were seldom laid down, except when the commemorated were buried in separate graves. Instances occur at Wimington, Beds.; Stratfield Mortimer and Great Coxwell, Berks.; Trinity Almshouse, Bristol; St. Mary Magdalen, Canterbury; Watford, Herts.; Cobham, Kent; Cheddar, Somerset, &c.

The effigies of the husband and wife are usually of the same size, or nearly so; an exception occurs at Edenhall, Cumberland, 1458. The wife is generally placed on the left hand of her husband, but in many instances the post of honour is assigned to her; the reason of the difference is not apparent, except where the husband holds the hand of his wife.

Before the latter end of the sixteenth century hardly any attempts were made to give the portrait of the deceased. This is evident from the obvious similarity in the faces of contemporary figures. The artists were content with simply marking the distinction between youth and age, and even this was almost wholly neglected in the fifteenth and earlier half of the sixteenth centuries. The faces, however, of the effigies of Sir William Tendring, 1408, Stoke, Suffolk; Nicholas Canteys, 1431, Margate, Kent; and of Lady Marnay and her two husbands, 1549, Little Horkesley, Essex, are possibly intended for likenesses<sup>r</sup>. The only face in profile that has been noticed is on the figure of a lady, c. 1550, at Margaretting, Essex.

<sup>q</sup> The fine brasses formerly at Ingham, Norfolk, to Sir Miles Stapleton and lady, 1365, engraved by Cotman, and at Rochester Cathedral, (matrix of a knt. and lady, probably the memorial of Sir William Arundell, Governor of Rochester city and castle, c. 1400, and lady, near the altar,) were similar instances. The same posture is observable in the stone effigies at Warwick of Sir Thos. de Beauchamp and lady, 1370; at Wimborne Minster of John, Duke of

Somerset, and lady, 1444, &c.

<sup>r</sup> See a communication from the Author to Notes and Queries, (1st Ser. vol. v. pp. 349, 350.) in which the inaccuracy of the portrait at Queen's College, Oxford, of the founder, Robt. Eggesfield, 1340, is pointed out. The likeness was taken from a brass in the college chapel which was supposed to be that of Eggesfield, but in reality commemorates Dr. Robt. Langton, 1518. This is evident from a sketch taken in 1644 by Dug-



The figures of priests are at once recognised by the tonsure, except where the head is covered by a scull-cap. Of course they are generally single figures, but in a few instances they are represented with their parents, as at Luton, Beds., c. 1425; High Halstow, Kent, 1399; Sudborough, Northants., c. 1430; Melton, Suffolk, c. 1430; South Creak, Norfolk, 1509; or other relations, as at Houghton Regis, Beds., c. 1400; Dronfield, Derbyshire, 1399, (two brothers,) and perhaps at Shottesbrooke, c. 1370, and in one case with a wife, Winwick, Lancashire, 1527<sup>s</sup>.

Half-length figures are of common occurrence, especially on early brasses. Until about the middle of the fifteenth century the person was invariably represented on English brasses as living and in proper costume<sup>t</sup>. After that period they often appear in shrouds, as emaciated figures or skeletons.

A general likeness is observable, throughout the whole period during which brasses were in use, between the costume of civilians and ladies: the fashion of both sexes appears to have followed one type, which may be traced in some cases even in armed figures, especially those of the fourteenth century<sup>u</sup>. At first sight a doubt might be entertained as to the sex of some persons represented in the sixteenth century.

Of the various costumes delineated on brasses, the most important, as well as the least varying, are the vestments worn by ecclesiastics of our Church before the Reformation. It was the rule of the Church to bury ecclesiastics in the full dress, and with all the ornaments, of their orders; their effigies, therefore, exactly represent their costume. These vestments will be next considered in order,

dale, and preserved in Anthony à Wood's Collection of MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, MS. F. 1 or N. 11, p. 146.

<sup>s</sup> Another instance was perhaps at Bolyham, Sussex, 1513, but one figure only (in a shroud) now remains. At Radwell, Herts., was a brass with three small figures, to William Wheteaker and his wife Joan, and Thomas their son; the latter, who was a chaplain and died in 1487, was represented in ecclesiastical vestments. At the Town Church, Guernsey, is an indent of a similar brass.

<sup>t</sup> On their brasses at Hawstead, Suf-

folk, Sir William Drury, 1557, and his first wife are represented as dead, with their eyes closed, the surviving wife with her eyes open. A similar instance may be seen at Westerham, Kent, on the brass of William Stacy and wives, 1566. The eyes of shrouded figures in the fifteenth century are often closed.

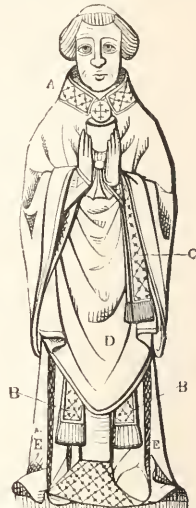
<sup>u</sup> The orle and canal of the knight corresponded to the wreath and gorget worn by his lady. In the middle of the sixteenth century the padded shoulders of the ladies' dresses rivalled the high shoulder-pieces of their husbands' armour.

so far as they are related to the subject of this volume. As a matter of convenience, although not of strictly correct division, they will be here arranged into three classes: 1. Eucharistical vestments; 2. Processional; 3. Academical.

During the first three centuries the ecclesiastical vestments were the same as the ordinary dresses of laymen; but the clergy were strictly forbidden to wear in public the same vestments in which they officiated, or to indulge in extravagant apparel. After the laity in the west had adopted the short dress of their barbaric conquerors, the clergy still retained their former long robes.

I. The vestments worn by the priest while celebrating the holy eucharist were identical with those of the bishops and abbots up to a certain point, beyond which additional ones were worn by the two latter. Those which were common to all will be first described: they are the amice, albe, maniple, stole, and chasuble, which were put on in the above order<sup>v</sup>, and a short prayer was said as each was assumed<sup>x</sup>.

1. The Amice (*amictus*) was an oblong piece of linen with an apparel<sup>y</sup> sewed on to one of its edges. It had two strings fixed to the



hic tacet Henricus denton quondam Episcopus de Helton  
qui obiit decimo vni die mensis februarii Anno dñi  
millesimo CCC. xxxviii Sums Anme pmet de ame

A. Apparel of the Amice. D. Chasuble.  
B. Stole. E. Albe, with apparel at the feet.  
C. Maniple.  
Henry Denton, Priest, 1498.  
Higham Ferrars, Northants.

<sup>v</sup> In some foreign churches, as at Milan, Lyons, and perhaps in England, this order was different, the stole being sometimes put on before the maniple. It must be borne in mind also that the same names were given to different vestments, and were spelt in a variety of ways in old wills, inventories, &c.

<sup>x</sup> These prayers, and the addresses of bishops at ordination, embody some of the symbolical meanings once sanctioned by our Church, and therefore are here given from Maskell's *Anc. Lit. of Eng. Ch.*, (2nd ed. p. 188, printed from a MS. Pontifical of the Sarum use in Camb. Univ. Libr.) and *Mon. Rit.* vol. iii.

They agree for the most part with those of the foreign Churches, (see Martene de *Ecl. Rit.* l. i. c. iv. art. 7, and Le Brun. *Expl.* i. p. 37 seq.)

<sup>y</sup> *Parura*, *paratura*, *paramentum*, from *parare* to ornament, was an embroidered border often worked with gold, silver, and jewels, sewed on to the different vestments. It is chiefly used of the amice and albe, the more general expression being *orphrey*, (*Gall. orfroy*; *Lat. aurifrigia, aurifrisia*), from *aurum Phrygium*; the Phrygians being, according to Pliny, (viii. 48, sect. 74, vol. ii. p. 129, ed. Sillig. *Gothæ*, Svo. 1852, "acu facere id Phryges invenerunt,

two corners of this appressed side, and was put on from behind, placed for a moment on the head, the strings brought round in the front of the neck, passed under the arms, behind the back, and tied on the breast. It then covered the neck, or might be drawn up over the head like a hood. On brasses it is always represented falling upon the shoulders<sup>z</sup>, with the apparel encircling the neck: the



John West, Chaplain,  
c. 1415.  
Sudborough, Northants.

apparel, therefore, has often been mistaken for a collar of the chasuble. It was gradually introduced during the seventh and eighth centuries, and is said to be derived from the ephod, (*epomis*), which name it sometimes bore, as well as *superhumeralis* or *humeralis*, and *anabologium*, (*ἀναβάλλομαι*.) It was considered to symbolize the helmet of salvation, and, from its surrounding the throat, the restraint of speech<sup>a</sup>.

2. The Albe (*alba*, *camisia*<sup>b</sup>, *χιτώνιον*) was a long close linen vestment, usually white, reaching down to the feet, (hence its names *talaris*, *ποδήρης*), and with tight sleeves. To the cuffs and the lower edge of the skirt in front apparels were always sewed. Such is the albe on brasses; but originally it was an ample vestment with one or more scarlet stripes in front, sometimes made of silk, and ornamented with fringes of gold, &c. The form of the albe is well shewn in a small figure at Sudborough, Northants., which is attired in the eucharistical vestments, with the exception of the chasuble.

The albe was confined round the waist by the Girdle, (*cingulum*,

ideoque Phrygionis appellata sunt,") the inventors of embroidery; hence *phrygio*, 'an embroiderer in gold,' &c. The orphrey often represented saints under canopies, initials of the wearer, the armorial bearings of the donors, &c. No coats of arms appear on orphreys on brasses, but may be seen on the stone effigy of a priest, fifteenth century, at Beverley Minster.

<sup>z</sup> On the stone effigy in low relief of the fourteenth century of St. Iestin, at Llanestyn, Anglesea, the amice is drawn over the head, and the apparel encircles the face. It is engraved in the *Archæol. Camb.* ii. p. 324. The effigy at Beverley

Minster also exhibits the same peculiarity.

<sup>a</sup> "§ *Ad amictum imponendum capiti suo*. Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in me, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit caput meum." Pont. Sar. "Amictus quo collum undique cingimus." "Per amictum intelligimus custodiam vocis." Amalar. ii. 17, in Hittorp. de Div. Off., p. 168.

<sup>b</sup> "Camisias nomen huic Tunice tribuerunt Veteres, quia similis est Tunice lineæ interiori, qua in *camis*, sive lectis utimur; strata enim humiliora, et terræ propiora Græci appellant *camas*." Krazer de Liturg., p. 289. *Cama*, a Græco *χαμαί*, Foreellini in voc.

ζώνη, *baltheus*), which in early times was flat like a belt, and much ornamented, but afterwards became a cord.

Mention of the albe occurs in the decrees of the fourth Council of Carthage, 398<sup>c</sup>; and it was originally worn by all orders of ecclesiastics as their ordinary dress. When angels are represented on brasses they are clothed in the amice and albe<sup>d</sup>, as is also the figure of St. Matthew when occurring as an evangelistic symbol.

3. The Maniple (*fanon*<sup>e</sup>, *manipulus*, ἐπιμανίκιον) was originally a narrow piece of linen hung over the left fore-arm, and used for wiping the forehead and face; hence its names *mappula* and *sudarrium*. Some time after the ninth century it was decorated with fringes at the ends, embroidered in colours and gold, and made of silk and rich stuffs: all which rendered it unfit for its proper use.

It is mentioned in the letters of St. Gregory the Great, c. 600: and in the eighth and ninth century it was a regular vestment of the Church.

4. The Stole, (*stola*, *orarium*) was a long narrow band or scarf of embroidered silk or rich materials with fringed extremities. It was hung over the nape of the neck: its ends were then crossed on the breast, confined to the waist by being placed under the girdle, and hung down low on each side. It was usually worn under the chasuble, which hid all but its fringed extremities. The effigy at Sudborough, however, being without the chasuble, affords a good example of the arrangement of the stole.

The origin of the Stole, and the meaning of its names, are somewhat obscure. It was called *orarium* until the eighth or ninth century, and most writers consider that it was at first a linen napkin or scarf for wiping the face (*ab ore tergendō*); others think that it was so called from *ora*, the border of a garment, because it was an

<sup>c</sup> Mansi, tom. iii. p. 953.

<sup>d</sup> "§ *Ad albam*. Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei: et munda me a reatibus cunctis, et cum illis qui dealbaverunt stolas suas in sanguine Agni mereamur perfrui gaudiis perpetuis."

*Ad albam*. "Indue me, Domine, vestimento salutis, et indumento justitiæ circumda me semper. Per Dominum," &c. Martene, ed. Venet. 1783, fol. tom. i. p. 190, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii.

"§ *Ad zonam*. Præcinge me, Domine, zona justitiæ, et constringe in me dilectionem Dei et proximi.

<sup>e</sup> *Fana*, Goth. et Ang. Sax., *pannus*,

*linteum*, *vevillum*. (Lye in voc.) *fahne*, Germ., hence the Eng. *vane*.

"§ *Ad fanonem*. Indue me, Pater clementissime, novum hominem, deposito veteri cum actibus suis, qui secundum Deum creatus est in justitia et sanctitate veritatis."

"Accipe manipulum in manibus tuis, ad extergendas sordes cordis et corporis." Martene, quoted by Maskell, iii. p. 183, from MS. Pontifical addressed to Sub-deacons, of which order of clergy it was made a distinguishing badge in the twelfth century.

ancient custom to fix handkerchiefs to some border of the robes, or that, from being a robe with stripes, it was afterwards so reduced in size that the stripes only were retained. Others derive *orarium* from *orare*, because it was worn during times of prayer. It formed, however, a part of the ordinary dress of priests.

Bishops did not cross the stole on the breast: by the priest it was worn over both shoulders, but by the deacon over the left only, to leave his right hand at liberty<sup>f</sup>. The Council of Laodicea, c. 364, forbid its use to sub-deacons<sup>g</sup>. In the Greek Church the stole of the priest was called *ἐπιτραχήλιον*, that of the deacon *ὠράριον*.

5. The Chasuble or Chesible (*casula*, *plana* *meta*<sup>h</sup>) was put on over all the eucharistical vestments, and was worn only at the celebration of the holy Eucharist. It was at first made of wool, sometimes of silk, and its original form was circular; but on brasses it assumes that of a vesica piscis, or pointed oval. It had an aperture in the centre for the head, but none for the arms: so that when these were raised it fell over them in folds before and behind. The older chasubles were very long and ample, but the sides, being a hinderance to the free use of the arms, were first turned up, and then curtailed: this change was



A Priest, c. 1370, Crondall, Hants.

<sup>f</sup> These rules do not seem to be invariable. In Carter's account of Eecl. Costume (in Fosbrooke's Brit. Mon.) there are engraved figures of two bishops in copes, with crossed stoles; one of them, perhaps of foreign execution, is from a bench-end in Barnack Church, Northants., and is also engraved in Carter's Ant. Sculpt. and Paint., pl. 79. No English brass of a deacon remains, but some fragments of the palimpsest brass at Burwell, Camb., appear to have belonged to the figure of a deacon. Small figures of saints, as St. Stephen and St. Laurence, in the dress of deacons, are found in orphreys, canopies, &c. In the figure of St. Law-

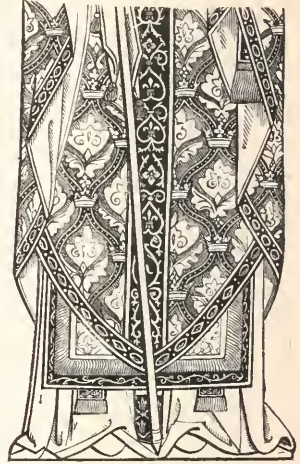
rence, on a brass at Castle Ashby, Northants., 1401, the stole is over both shoulders.

<sup>g</sup> Krazer, p. 301.

"Accipe jugum Domini: jugum enim Ejus suave est, et onus Ejus leve. Stola innocentia induat te Dominus." Ordin. of Priest, Maskell, vol. iii. pp. 208, and 198, note 61.

<sup>h</sup> "Quia facile collo circumagi poterat, hanc Vestem *Planetam* nuncuparunt Græci, . . . quæ vox *vagum* aliquid et *errans* significat. Latini vero illam *Casulam*, et barbare *Casubulam* vel *Casibulam* appellarunt, quia, ut Isidorus l. 19. Orig. c. 24, scribit, *instar parvæ casæ a collo ad pedes*

made before 570. The chasuble was ornamented with orphreys, which were placed either round the edges, or down the front and back in a straight line, or both. The early orphrey has the form of a pall, and was, like it, called *super-humerale*. Besides the orphreys, a profusion of ornament of gold, silver, &c., was often bestowed upon the chasuble itself, as painted stone effigies, ancient inventories, &c., testify. These enrichments were gradually multiplied so as to render it very cumbrous, and make it necessary to slit up its sides. On English brasses the chasubles are entire, and quite plain except the orphreys; in a few cases they are seen ornamented, as on the brass of Bishop Bell, 1496, Carlisle Cathedral, and on the reverse of the palimpsest figure at Burwell, Cambridge<sup>i</sup>.



Part of the effigy of Abbot John Lawrence, c. 1510, Burwell, Cambridgeshire.

The chasuble is supposed to be derived from the Roman *pænula*; in the Greek Church it is called *φενώλιον*, *φελόνιον*, &c. It was established as a priestly vestment before 474, as we learn from the will of Perpetuus, Bishop of Tours<sup>k</sup>. The fourth Council of Toledo<sup>l</sup>, 633, directs that ecclesiastics unjustly deprived be not restored “*nisi gradus amissos recipiant coram altario de manu episcoporum, si episcopus est, orarium, annulum, et baculum: si presbyter, orarium et planetam: si diaconus, orarium et albam.*” It was essentially a priestly and eucharistical vestment, but its use was conceded at certain seasons to deacons and sub-deacons while assisting at the altar<sup>m</sup>.

*usque totum tegebat hominem.*” Krazer, pp. 308, 309.

<sup>i</sup> Also on the brass of Bp. Fitzhugh, 1435, formerly in Old St. Paul’s, engraved by Dugdale. The incised slabs in France exhibit richly ornamented chasubles, as did also some brasses formerly in that country, at the Eglise des Chartreux, Paris, &c., of which drawings are preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The brass effigy at Paderborn Cathedral, of Bp. Bernard,

1340, has a chasuble covered with embroidery of lions, eagles, and five-leaved roses, the last being the bearing of his family, Az. a five-leaved rose gu. Lippe. Arch. Journ., vol. ix. p. 201.

<sup>k</sup> “*Et Amalario Presbytero, Casulam unam communem de serico.*” D’Achery Spicil. ed. 1723, tom. iii. p. 303.

<sup>l</sup> Can. xxviii. Mansi, tom. x. p. 627.

<sup>m</sup> “*Accipe vestem sacerdotalem, per quam caritas intelligitur: potens est enim Deus augere tibi caritatem, et opus*

In addition to the foregoing vestments, bishops and mitred abbots are represented on brasses, (see the annexed engraving and the frontispiece,) with the buskins, sandals, tunic, dalmatic, gloves, ring, mitre, and pastoral staff<sup>n</sup>.

The first of these which were put on were the Buskins, (*caligæ*), stockings of linen or silk of various colours reaching up to the knee, and there fastened.

The Sandals (*sandalia, compagi*) were worn in early times by bishops, and afterwards their use was granted to the other orders of the clergy, as to deacons before the time of Gregory the Great, c. 600. In process of time the bishops only retained them. They had strings, and were often richly ornamented with jewels, stripes, &c. According to Innocent III. they were typical of the preparation of the Gospel of peace<sup>o</sup>.

After the amice, albe, and stole, the bishop put on the Tunic or Tunicle, which was a close linen robe, with narrow sleeves, reaching below the knees, and often with a fringed border below. It was of very early

perfectum." Ordination of Priests, Maskell, iii. p. 209.

<sup>n</sup> In the tenth century the popes granted the use of episcopal vestments to many abbots. The mitre was conceded to a few in the eleventh, and became common among them in the following century. Abbots had an original right to the pastoral staff.

<sup>o</sup> "Per Caligas significatur rectitudo gressus. Per Sandalia, quæ pedes tegunt, contemptus terrenorum." Thomas Aquinas cited by Krazer, p. 321.



Thos Cranley, Abp. of Dublin, 1417.  
New College, Oxford

use in the Greek Church. The tunic, with the maniple, was also the proper dress of the sub-deacon <sup>p</sup>.

The Dalmatic, (*dalmatica*, *στοιχάριον*), which was next put on, was very similar to the tunic, and sometimes called by the same name. The dalmatic was rather shorter, had larger sleeves, and was partially slit up at each side, with fringe along the edges. The form of this vestment may be seen on a small figure of St. Laurence, on a brass at Harrow, Middlesex. It was often richly embroidered, as on the brasses of Bishop Stanley, Manchester, 1515; Bishop Young, New College, Oxford, 1526; and Bishop Goodrich, Ely, 1554, and of different colours, but usually white, with two or more purple or scarlet stripes in front and behind. These ornaments are not visible on English brasses, but may be seen in the incised slabs of deacons in France.



St. Laurence, from the brass of John Eyckhea, Harrow, Middx., 1469.

The dalmatic was so called from being originally used in Dalmatia. It appears to have been worn by prelates as early as the fourth century <sup>q</sup>, and subsequently to have been conferred on particular clergy, as a mark of distinction, by several popes; especially to the Roman deacons by Pope Sylvester II., who died 1003. Soon after this time we find it used universally by that order of clergy, who in early times wore the *colobium*, (*κολοβός*, curtailed,) which was similar to the dalmatic, but with short sleeves. The ancient dalmatic was white, in the tenth century it varied, in the twelfth and subsequent centuries it followed the colour of the chasuble <sup>r</sup>.

The Gloves (*chirothecæ*, *manualia*, *manicæ*) were in the early ages of leather, but afterwards usually of white netted silk, with gold, jewels, and other ornaments on the backs. They were used anciently by priests also. After the eighth century bishops always wore them <sup>s</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> “§ *Ad tunicam*. Indue me, Domine, vestimento salutis, et indumento letitiæ circumda me semper.” Maskell, Anc. Lit. The tunic does not appear on the figure of Bp. Trelick in the frontispiece.

<sup>q</sup> St. Cyprian, just before his martyrdom in A.D. 258, “cum se Dalmatica exposuisset, et Diaconibus tradidisset, in

linea stetit.” Ruinart, Acta Martyrum, fol. 1713, p. 218.

<sup>r</sup> “§ *Ad dalmaticam*. Da mihi, Domine, sensum et vocem, ut possim cantare laudem tuam ad hanc missam.”

<sup>s</sup> ‘Per Chirothecas significatur cantela in opere.’ Tho. Aquin., Krazer, p. 322.



The Ring (*annulus*) was worn by bishops from a very early period. In the seventh century its use was ancient. "Episcopo, cum consecratur, datur Annulus propter signum pontificalis honoris, vel signaculum secretorum<sup>t</sup>." It was usually of pure gold, set with a jewel, and placed on the middle finger of the *right* hand, with a guard ring over it, and one of the fingers of the glove was cut away in order to shew it. In the figures of Bishops Stanley and Young, rings are represented on all the fingers of both hands<sup>u</sup>.

The bishop having put on the chasuble and maniple, the Mitre (*mitra*) was then placed on his head, and from it depended behind *vittæ* or *infulæ*, two narrow strips of silk or other rich material with fringed extremities. They may be seen on the brasses of Archbishop Grenfeld, 1315, York Cathedral; Bishop Bowthe, 1478, East Horsley, Surrey; and Archbishop Harsnet, 1631, Chigwell, Essex. The date of the introduction of mitres has been much disputed. The double-pointed mitre does not appear to have been used till the eleventh century, before which a raised cap, closed at the top, was for a long time worn by some bishops. Innocent III. (1198—1216) describes clearly the mitre as afterwards used. Mitres were very low till the fourteenth century, when they attained the perfection of their form. They afterwards were elevated more and more, until they reached an extravagant height<sup>x</sup>. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the material was linen; afterwards silk, cloth of gold and silver, gems, &c., were bestowed upon them. The mitre was of three kinds, *simplex*, or plain; *auriphrygiata*, or ornamented with golden orphreys; and *pretiosa*, or adorned with jewels, plates of gold, &c.<sup>y</sup>

The Pastoral-staff (*baculus pastoralis, cambutta, ferula, pedum*) was lastly received by the bishop. Its form was that of a shepherd's crook, and as early as the tenth century it was often elaborately

<sup>t</sup> Isid. Hisp. Off. Eccl. i. 5. See also the decr. of Conc. Tolet. iv. supra, p. lxxviii. note 1.

<sup>u</sup> "Accipe annulum fidei scilicet signaculum, quatenus Dei sponsam, sanctam Dei videlicet ecclesiam, intemerata fide ornatus, illibate custodias." Consecr. Episcop. Maskell, iii. p. 274.

<sup>x</sup> The mitres of Bishops Pursglove, 1579, Tideswell, Derbyshire, and Bell, 1556, formerly in St. James's, Clerkenwell, are unusually depressed.

<sup>y</sup> "Deus qui mitræ pontificalis ho-

nore te voluit insignire clementer annuat, ut quæ per mitræ cornua figurantur, ad tutelam et salutem animæ fortiter et prudenter corde tractes et ore." Consecr. Episc. Maskell, iii. p. 275. — "duo cornua, duo sunt testamenta, duæ fimbriæ spiritus, et litera: circulus aureus, qui anteriorem et posteriorem partem complectitur, indicat, quod omnis scriba doctus in regno cælorum de thesauro suo nova profert, et vetera." Innocent III. i. xliv., quoted by Maskell, ubi sup.

ornamented with enamelling, figures of saints, &c. To the knop below the crook a scarf, called the *vexillum*, or banner of the cross, was frequently attached. Pastoral staves were in use in very early times. Gaudentius Brixienſis, 387, ſpeaks of ‘*baculum correptionis.*’ Isidorus Hispalenſis<sup>2</sup> alludes to the delivery of the ſtaff at conſecration as an eſtabliſhed cuſtom; the early form, however, is uncertain. They were held in the left hand, or between the left arm and the body, and the benediction was given with the right: this is the uſual attitude on Engliſh braſſes; on foreign examples they were uſually ſupported between the arm and the body<sup>a</sup>. Abbots have been ſaid to hold the crook turned inwards, to ſignify that their juriſdiction was confined to their monaſteries: but this diſtinction appears never to have been obſerved in effigies; and as a conſtrained attitude was avoided as much as poſſible, the crook is uſually repreſented as turned outwards, which is the poſition into which it would naturally fall when held over the ſhoulder, ſlanting outwards. In depriving an eccleſiaſtic, the biſhop took off his veſtments with the pointed end of his ſtaff<sup>b</sup>.

The Crozier and the Pall were peculiar to archbiſhops, and are accordingly repreſented on the braſs of Thomas Cranley at New College, engraved at p. lxix. The former was a ſtaff ending in a croſs or crucifix, inſtead of a crook.

The Pall (*pallium*) was a narrow band of white lamb’s wool of three fingers’ breadth, conſiſting of a circle thrown over the ſhoulders,

<sup>2</sup> Loc cit. p. lxxi. note t.

<sup>a</sup> The effigies at Burwell, Camb., and Adderley, Salop, had their paſtoral-ſtaves in their right hands; that at Adderley gives the benediction alſo with his right hand, and holds a book in his left. According to the Sarum Pontifical, the biſhop in benedictions held the ſtaff “*curvatura baculi ad populum converſa, cujus contrarium faciunt miniſtri tenendo baculum vel portando.*”—Maskell, *Anc. Lit.*, p. 185.

<sup>b</sup> Maskell, iii. p. 324. “*Accipe baculum paſtoralis officii: et ſis in corrigendis vitiis pie ſæviens, judicium ſine ira tenens, in fovendis virtutibus auditorum animos demulcens, in tranquillitate ſeveritatis cenſuram non deſerens.*” *Conſecr. Epiſcop.* *ibid.*, p. 272.

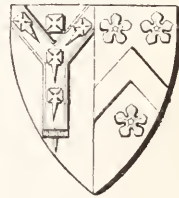
“*Designantur per baculum ea quæ his verſibus comprehenduntur:—*

*In baculi forma, Præſul, datur hæc tibi norma.*

*Attrahe per primum, medio rege, punge per imum, Attrahe peccantes, rege juſtos, punge vagantes; Attrahe, ſuſtenta, ſtimula, vaga, morbida, lenta.*”

*Spelm.* *Gloſſ.* *voc.* “*Ferula.*” The paſtoral-ſtaff of Henry Robiſon, on his braſſes at Carlisle, and Queen’s College, Oxford, has inſcribed on the ſhaft, “*Ps. 23. Corrigendo. ſuſtentando;*” and on the crook, “*Figilando Dirigendo;*” the laſt two words encircle an eye. On a ſhort veil or vexillum ſuſpended from the crook is the word “*Velando.*” On foreign braſſes an archbiſhop was often repreſented with both crozier and paſtoral ſtaff, as in the braſs of Francis Hallé, Abp. of Narbonne, 1451 (?), formerly in Notre Dame at Paris. See alſo the notices of Braſſes at Bamberg, 1399, p. xxxvii. note l; and Lund, p. xxxix. note n.

to which two other bands of the same material and breadth were attached, which hung down before and behind, in the shape of the letter Y: these were kept in their place by small plummetts of lead fastened to their extremities. It was adorned with purple or black crosses of silk, and originally fastened to the chasuble by three gold pins. The pall, like the orarium, appears anciently to have formed part of a large garment, for the old pallium was a long rich robe of state, worn by Roman emperors, and identical with the Greek *ἠμοφόριον*. The pall of Gregory I. was a long band "ex bysso candente," which hung from the right shoulder in a circular form in front of the breast, and was then turned over the left shoulder, with the end hanging behind. These early palls were double on the left side, and single on the right. This form, which was preserved to the twelfth century<sup>c</sup>, then underwent a considerable change to its established shape, which is still retained in the arms of the see of Canterbury. It was customary for the pall to be laid on St. Peter's chair before its delivery by the pope to the metropolitans; upon whose decease it was buried with them<sup>d</sup>.



See of Canterbury.  
imp. Chichele.

<sup>c</sup> Krazer, p. 356.

<sup>d</sup> "Accipe pallium summi sacerdotii Domini Dei tui signum, per quod undique vallatus atque munitus, valeas hostis humani tentamentis resistere, et omnes insidias ejus a penetralibus cordis tui, divino munimine fultus, procul abjicere: præstante Domino nostro, Jesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen." De Pallio Archiepiscopi, Maskell, iii. p. 300. See the very interesting note on this.

"Pallium significat disciplinam, quia seipos et subditos Archiepiscopi debent regere." Spelm. Gloss. voc. 'Pallium,' where many minute particulars and typical meanings may be seen. The pall must be carefully distinguished from the pallium-shaped orphreys mentioned at p. lxxviii., also from the cope, which was sometimes called by the same name.

The following is a list of the brasses in England, of bishops and abbots in the vestments that have been described:—

1315. Wm. Grenefeld, Abp., York Cathedral.

1397. Robt. de Waldeby, Abp. of York, Westminster Abbey.

1417. Thos. Cranley, Abp. of Dublin, New College Chapel, Oxford.

1360. John Trellick, Bp., Hereford Cathedral.

1375. Robt. Wyvill, Bp., Salisbury Cathedral.

1395. John de Waltham, Bp. of Salisbury, Westminster Abbey.

1478. John Bowthe, Bp. of Exeter, East Horsley, Surrey.

1496. Rd. Bell, Bp., Carlisle Cathedral.

1515. James Stanley, Bp. of Ely, Manchester Cathedral.

1526. John Young, Titular Bp., New College Chapel, Oxford.

1554. Thos. Goodrich, Bp., Ely Cathedral.

1556. John Bell, Bp. of Worcester, from St. James', Clerkenwell, in the possession of J. B. Nichols, Esq.

1579. Robt. Pursglove, Suffragan Bp. of Hull, Tideswell, Derbyshire.

c. 1360. Thos. de la Mare, Abbot, St. Alban's Abbey.

c. 1390. A Bishop or Abbot, Adderley, Shropshire.

c. 1400. Mutilated figure, Abbot, St. Alban's Abbey.

“As kings by their coronation are admitted into a sacred as well as a civil character, the former of these is particularly manifested in the investiture with clerical garments<sup>c</sup>.” In this country they are, 1. the dalmatic, or open pall; 2. the super-tunica, or surcoat, with 3. the belt; 4. the stole; 5. the colobium sindonis, a surplice without sleeves; and 6. the caligæ or sandals. Besides these, in early times, the “Rex electus” entered the church clothed in a “vestis” or “camisia;” and after the colobium sindonis, an amice was placed upon his head. On their monuments, kings are generally represented in a long tunic with close sleeves, a cloak or cope, and a tippet of ermine. One brass only of a king exists in England, a half-length effigy, laid down apparently c. 1440, at Wimborne Minster, Dorset, in memory of King Ethelred, who was martyred in 872.



King Ethelred, Wimborne  
Minster, Dorset.

II. The Processional or Canonical vestments were the surplice, (under which the cassock is generally visible,) the almuce, and the cope. They are to be met with almost exclusively on the brasses of members of collegiate bodies. Bishops and abbots are rarely represented in them; perhaps the three following instances only occur: Samuel Harsnet, Abp. of York, 1631, Chigwell, Essex; Richard Bewforeste, c. 1510, Dorchester, Oxon, and Richard Norton, 1509, South Creak, Norfolk, both Abbots<sup>f</sup>.

1498. John Estney, Abbot, Westminster Abbey.

c. 1510. Part of the figure of an Abbot, on the reverse of a ‘palimpsest,’ Burwell, Cambridgeshire.

At Wendon Lofts, Essex, one of the sons on the brass of Wm. Lucas and wife, c. 1450, in episcopal vestments, is supposed by Mr. Manning to commemorate John Lucas, who was Abbot of Waltham in 1437, and died in 1475. In the British Museum is a portion of the foreign brass of a bishop or abbot, c. 1350.

In Stukeley’s *Itin. Curiosum*, 1776, p. 92, pl. 16, is an engraving of the brass of Bp. Wm. Smith, co-founder of Brasenose College, 1513, formerly in Lincoln Cathedral; the stole and tunic

are omitted in the figure, owing perhaps to the inaccuracy of the original drawing by Browne Willis.

<sup>c</sup> The *Glory of Regality*, by Arthur Taylor, F.S.A., 8vo. Lond. 1820, p. 80. The anointing of kings and their investiture in ‘bysshoppes gere,’ did not give them any power to discharge any of the priestly functions, but only made them ‘spiritualis jurisdictionis capaces,’ as is expressed in our laws, (*Selden’s Titles of Hon.*) See Taylor, pp. 36, 264.

<sup>f</sup> The outer habit of Bewforeste is probably a monk’s cloak or cope. A somewhat similar brass existed at Royston, Herts., to Robert White, Prior, 1534. In the last of Abp. Hubert Walter’s Canons, made at Westminster A.D. 1200, this order occurs: “Let not

1. The Surplice (*superpellicium*) was an enlargement of the albe, but without apparels or girdle. It had very deep sleeves, was frequently plaited, and was not open in front, as in modern times. In brasses it generally reaches to the ancles, but in early examples it covers the feet. The name surplice, derived from its being placed over the *pellicium*, or tunic of fur worn chiefly in the northern countries, is first met with in England in the eleventh century; but a similar white vestment was worn by all orders of ecclesiastics, under different names, from very early times.

2. The Almuce or Amess (*almutium*) was usually a hood of grey fur, originally of a similar shape to the stole, worn like it, and on occasions of need thrown over the head. It appears to have been introduced about the thirteenth century, and in the fifteenth a cape and pendants, made of the tails of the animals whose fur was used, were added to it<sup>g</sup>. The almuce is generally represented on brasses by a white metal inlaid in the brass and engraved in imitation of fur.

In the French incised slabs of canons habited in chasubles, copes, &c., a similar hood is found, either drawn over the head, with the ends hanging down behind, or hung over the left arm.

3. The Cope, (*eappa, pluviale*), which was put on over the surplice and almuce, was semicircular, with an orphrey along the straight edge, worn like a cloak, and fastened across the chest with a *morse*



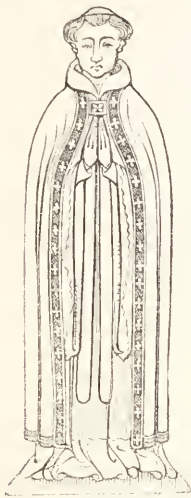
Abbot, c. 1510, Dorchester, Oxon.

black monks, or canons, or nuns, use coloured copes, but black only; nor any facings but black or white, made of the skins of lambs, cats, or foxes." Johnson's Eng. Canons, vol. ii. in Anglo-Cath. Libr., p. 93. It is curious that the brass of Bp. John White, in Winchester College Chapel, represents him in a cope; but we know that this was

laid down during the time that he was Warden of the College, (in 1548?) before his consecration. It would appear from the brass of John Martock (of Merton College?), Physician, 1503, Banwell, Somerset, that these vestments were not confined to ecclesiastics.

<sup>g</sup> See the engraving on p. lxxx.

or brooch. Behind, a hood (*caputium*) was attached, which after the fourteenth century became a mere ornamental appendage, the almuce probably superseding its use<sup>h</sup>. The cope was worn in solemn processions, at vespers, benedictions, by the assistant clergy and choristers during mass<sup>i</sup>, &c. It was the most richly ornamented of all the sacerdotal vestments, being frequently covered with



R. Best London, Priest in Cope, 1416.  
Chartham, Kent.



Robert Thurbern, Warden, 1450,  
Winchester Coll. Chapel.

gold embroidery, and its orphreys enriched with figures of saints, monograms, jewels, &c. On brasses, however, the cope, with the exception of its orphreys, and occasionally a border round the bottom, was usually left plain; but it is sometimes richly diapered, as at Knebworth, Herts., 1414; Winchester College, 1450 and 1548;

<sup>h</sup> This hood is rarely visible on brasses, except those of which the figures are turned sideways, as at All Souls' College, Oxford, 1461. It may be just seen on brasses at Watton, Herts., e. 1385; Shitlington, Beds., 1485; Dorehester, Oxon, e. 1510; and St. Just, Cornwall, e. 1520. None of these figures have orphreys to the copes; the same deficiency occurs on a brass at Bampton, Oxon, 1500.

<sup>i</sup> It is perhaps worthy of remark, that although priests are very commonly represented holding the chalice, when in the chasuble, &c., and even in academical

vestments, as at Barking, Essex, e. 1480; Bredgar, Kent, 1518; and Merton Coll., Oxford, 1519? yet one instance only is known (Buckland, Herts., 1478,) in which a priest holds it, vested in the cope. At East Malling, Kent, is a priest (1522) wearing all the processional vestments except the cope, and holding a chalice. A similar figure, of the date 1426, was at East Peckham in the same county. An incised slab at All Saints', Derby, presents the same peculiarity.

Balsham, Cambridgeshire, 1462; Ronald Kirk and Beeford, Yorks., c. 1470 and 1472; Queen's College, Oxford, 1518; Dowdeswell, Gloucestershire, c. 1520; Hereford Cathedral, 1476? 1529; Chigwell, Essex, 1631; and on some fine brasses formerly in Old St. Paul's, London, engravings of which are given by Dugdale in his history of the cathedral. The morse (*morsus*) was ornamented with busts of saints, the owner's arms, monograms, &c.<sup>k</sup>

The cope derived its name from the hood (*cappa* or *capa*) which anciently covered the head. It is mentioned in the sixth century as *casula processoria*, and *cucullata*, and was soon afterwards called *pluviale*; all which names seem to point out its origin as coeval with the use of litanies at Rome, in which copes were worn as a defence against the weather. *Pluviale* was at first applied only to the processional cope, which was not so rich as that worn in the choir. The name of the corresponding vestment used in the Greek Church is *Mandyas*.

Doctors and professors wore a round cap, rising to a slight point in the crown, in addition to the foregoing vestments.

The Cassock (*camisia vestis*) was an under-garment of various colours, frequently red, reaching to the ground, and with close sleeves. It formed the ordinary dress of the clergy, and may be seen on a small figure, c. 1480, at Cirencester, Gloucestershire. A hood, with or without a cape, was usually worn in addition, examples of which are to be found at Upper Hardres, Kent, 1405; Apsley Guise, Beds., c. 1410; Ledbury, Herefordshire, c. 1410; Quainton, Bucks., 1422; Blockley, Worcestershire, 1488, all kneeling figures; and at Merton College, Oxford, c. 1420<sup>1</sup>; Harrow, Middlesex, c. 1460; Cheriton, Kent, 1474; St. Martin Outwich, London, 1482; All Souls' College Chapel, Oxford, 1490; Fovant, Wilts.,



An Ecclesiastic, c. 1480,  
Cirencester, Glouc.

<sup>k</sup> Armorial bearings are seldom found on the orphreys of copes: an instance from Havant, Hants., is engraved in this volume. Initial letters, though common on the cope, are very rare ornaments of the chasuble, as at Arundel, Sussex, 1155. Stone effigies in

copos are of very rare occurrence, two may be seen at Bitton, Gloucestershire, and another (to Bp. Heton, 1609) at Ely Cathedral.

<sup>1</sup> See the figure of John Whytton, at Merton College, engraved infra, p. lxxxiii.

1492, &c. In later brasses, instead of the hood and cape a kind of short scarf was thrown over the shoulders, and affixed by a rosette to the front of one of them; instances occur at Laycock, Wilts., 1501; Ashby St. Leger's, Northants., 1510; Shorwell, Isle of Wight, 1518; West Chalfont, Bucks., c. 1520; Worlingworth, Suffolk, c. 1520; Cley and East Rainham, Norfolk, c. 1520 and 1522; and at Northleach, Gloucestershire, c. 1530; in the last instance the hood is fastened to the surplice<sup>m</sup>.



Head of R.D. Bethell, 1518,  
Shorwell, Isle of Wight.

The eucharistical and processional vestments were usually worn in the order described; on a few brasses, however, they are represented differently, the reason of which is not in all cases very obvious.

Deviations in the wearing of the eucharistical vestments are such as the following:—

The tunic is very often omitted on effigies of bishops and abbots, especially on those of early date. Instances on brasses are at Adderley, Hereford, East Horsley, Tideswell, St. Alban's (1401?), and Constance Cathedral; the stole is also wanting on the figures at the last two places. In the figure of Bp. Goodrich, at Ely, the stole is placed between the tunic and dalmatic.

John Erton, 1503, at Newton, Wilts., wears the maniple over the right wrist; in the figures of the suffragan bishops Young and Pursglove, and of Richard Bennett, 1531, Whitnash, Warwickshire, it disappears altogether. On brasses at Dronfield, Derbyshire, 1399; Clothall, Herts., 1404; Blisland, Cornwall, 1410; Newton Bromshold, Northants., 1426; Blockley, Worcestershire, c. 1500; and Laindon, Essex, c. 1510, the stole is omitted: on others neither stole nor maniple are to be found, as at Sawston, Cambridgeshire, 1522; Walton-on-Trent, Derbyshire, c. 1500? Somersham, Hunts., c. 1530; Middleton, Lancashire, 1522; Ringstead, 1482, Sparham,

<sup>m</sup> A kneeling figure painted on glass, and now in the large west window of Cirencester Church, represents an ecclesiastic in similar costume; both the cassock and hood are of a red colour. An effigy at North Creak, Norfolk,

c. 1500, apparently of an ecclesiastic, probably exhibits a different manner of wearing this kind of hood. See the engraving illustrative of brasses of founders of churches.



c. 1490, West Lynn, 1503, Wiveton, 1512, Brisley, 1531, Norfolk; Coleshill, 1500, Charlchote, c. 1500, Warwickshire. Most of these brasses were engraved by provincial artists.

In the processional vestments the surplice and almuce were very frequently worn without the cope. This appears upon brasses chiefly of the sixteenth century, as in a figure of James Courthorp, 1557, at Christ Church, Oxford, (see the engraving on the next page). Perhaps the omission of the cope was optional, and at particular seasons it might have been customary not to wear it<sup>a</sup>.

In the brasses at Theydon Gernon, Essex, 1458; Temple Church, Bristol, c. 1460; All Saints', Stamford, Lincolnshire, 1508; and Clothall, Herts., 1541, the *almuce* is omitted; and in those at Upwell, Norfolk, 1428; Buckland, Herts., 1478; and St. Margaret's, Rochester, 1465, the *amice* supplies its place. On the reverse of the last-named brass, the *almuce* is represented; hence it would appear that there was good reason for the alteration.

Sometimes the cope was worn over the eucharistical vestments,

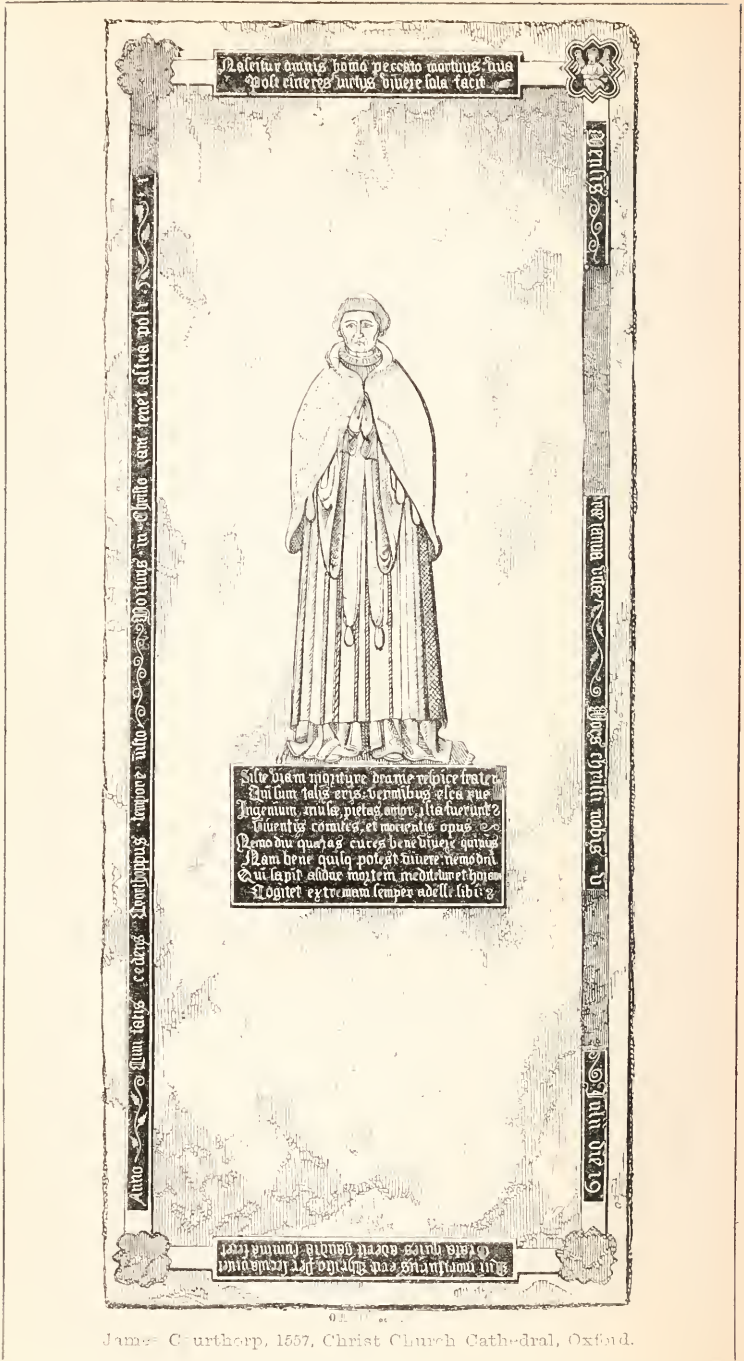
<sup>a</sup> See Ducange, Gloss. voc. *Almucium*. "Statuta Ecclesiæ Viennensis apud Joan. Le Lievre, cap. 26, de Canonicis. *A festo S. Martini usque ad Pascha portabant capas nigras supra pellicium, et a Pascha usque ad festum omnium SS. portabant superpellicium sine capa, et in capite capellum de griso, quem vulgariter Almuciam vocant.*"

The following is a list of some figures like that at Christ Church, Oxford, 1557:—

1413. John Morys, Winchester Coll.  
 1418. Wm. Tannere, Cobham, Kent, (demi-figure, almuce fastened by a morse.)  
 1419. Wm. Whyte, Arundel, Sussex.  
 c. 1420. Thomas Plymynswode, Bampton, Oxon. (demi-figure.)  
 1471. Son of Roger Kyngdon, Que-thioc, Cornwall.  
 c. 1480. Thos. Teylar, Byfleet, Surrey.  
 1482. Hen. Sampson, Tredington, Worcestershire.  
 1487. Son of John Lambard, Hinxworth, Herts.  
 1494. Thos. Buttler, Great Haseley, Oxon.  
 c. 1500. A Priest, St. Cross, Hants.  
 1501. Thos. Parker, Dean, Beds.  
 1503. Hen. Bost, Eton College.

1507. Edmund Croston, St. Mary's, Oxford.  
 1508. Robt. Sheffelde, Chartham, Kent.  
 1510. Ralph Eleok, Tong, Salop.  
 c. 1510. Ed. Sheffeld, Luton, Beds.  
 1514? John Fynexs, Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk.  
 1514. Thos. Warner, Souldern, Oxon.  
 1515. Wm. Goberd, Magdalen Coll., Oxford.  
 1518. John Aberfeld, Great Cressingham, Norfolk.  
 1522. Robt. Honywode, St. George's Chapel, Windsor.  
 1522. Rd. Adams, East Malling, Kent.  
 1528. Robt. Sutton, St. Patrick's, Dublin.  
 1528. Provost Hacombelyn, King's College, Cambridge.  
 1532. John Moore, Sibson, Leicestershire.  
 1537. Geoff. Fyche, St. Patrick's, Dublin.  
 1558. Robt. Brassie, King's College, Cambridge.

In Hereford Cathedral are four stone effigies in cassocks, surplices, and almuces. Another instance may be seen at St. Martin's, Birmingham.



James C. Arthur, 1857, Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.

instead of the chasuble; so that the opening of the cope in front made the crossing of the stole visible. Three examples only have as yet been noticed: at Horsham, Sussex, 1411; Winchester College, (a demi-figure, much worn,) 1432; and Upwell, Norfolk, 1435.

In Winchester College Chapel and cloisters are demi-figures (1445, 1473), vested in amices, albes, and copes, which dress also appears on priests at Ronald Kirk, c. 1470, and Beeford, 1472, Yorks. It is probable that where the cope is represented, and the almuce omitted, the wearer was not entitled to the latter; thus at Winchester, the privilege of wearing the almuce might have been confined to the Wardens, since the brasses of the Fellows are all without it.

The Canons of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, being members of the Order of the Garter, wore, instead of the cope, a purple mantle, with a red cross on a white ground embroidered on the left shoulder. The brasses of Roger Lupton, 1536, at Eton College Chapel, and Arthur Cole, 1558, at Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, furnish instances of this dress<sup>o</sup>.

III. Priests in academical habits, though common in the college chapels of the Universities, are rarely to be met with in parish churches. In attempting to discriminate between the dresses of the different academical degrees, a difficulty arises from the absence of colour; which would be the only criterion of distinct habits, when their forms are similar. The following must therefore be regarded as a very imperfect sketch of the distinctive dresses of the various degrees.

Doctors or Professors in the faculties of Divinity and Law wore a similar dress; which consisted of a round cap of a dark colour, a cassock with fur cuffs, a long gown (rochet<sup>p</sup>?) with an aperture

<sup>o</sup> In the Lansdown MS. (No. 874, fol. 54, 55), in the British Museum, are sketches of four similar brasses of Canons, formerly in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

<sup>p</sup> This garment may, perhaps, have been the mozzetta or the mantelletum. The latter is thus described in Ducange's Glossary, (ed. G. A. L. Henschel):— "Mantelletum, diminut. a Mantello. Gall. Mantelet. Ceremonial. Episcoporum, lib. i. cap. i. *Super vestem inferiorem talarem, cum extra domum eribit, induit*

*aliam vestem breviorē apertam, ut per scissuras brachia extrahi possint, quod genus vestis mantelletum vocant."* The rochet, so called from the Germ. *rock*, was a diminution of the albe; either without sleeves altogether or with tight sleeves, in order to adapt it better to ordinary use. The name rochet was not used in Italy till the fourteenth century, before which time it was called in that country *alba Romana*, or *camisia Romana*.

in front for the arms, and over this a large hood, lined with fur, from which the present academical hood originated. Examples occur at St. Benet's, Cambridge, 1442, and at King's College in the same city, 1496, 1507; at St. Martin's Outwich, London, c. 1500, and New College, Oxford, 1441, 1468.



Dr. Richard Billingsford, Master of Corpus Christi Coll., 1442, St. Benet's, Cambridge.

At Hitchin, Herts., was a very peculiar figure, commemorating John Sperchawke, D.D., 1474, representing him in the usual cap and hood, and in a gown shaped like a chasuble<sup>q</sup>.

The dress of the Bachelor of Divinity may be seen on the brasses of John Bloxham, c. 1420, Merton College, (see the engraving on the opposite page,) John Darley, c. 1450, Herne, Kent, and perhaps at Queens' College Chapel, Cambridge, c. 1535. It consists of a cassock, hood with cape or tippet, and a rochet (?) with two slits in front for the passage of the arms. The brass of John Lowthe, 1427, "Juris civilis professor," represents him habited like the foregoing, but wearing also a cap, and two long lirripipes or streamers hanging from behind his tippet<sup>r</sup>. Figures with similar appendages to the tippet exist at Barningham, Suffolk, 1499, and Trinity Hall Chapel, Cambridge, c. 1530, but are without the cap. Bryan Roos, LL.D., 1529, Childrey, Berks., wears the ordinary civilian's gown, with a hood, cape, and professorial cap.

It appears, then, from the above instances, that as a general rule the higher degrees were distinguished by the cap and rochet, worn either together or separately.

<sup>q</sup> See the engraving infra, illustrating the employment of the rebus.

<sup>r</sup> The cape or tippet and the hood were often merely different parts of the same article of dress. In the Constitutions of Abp. Bouchier, made A.D. 1463, are some enactments relating to these academical dresses. It was ordained "ne quis in aliqua universitate non graduatus, nec in aliqua dignitate ecclesi-

astica constitutus presbyteris, et clericis in servitio domini regis duntaxat exceptis, capitium penulatum [a hood with a cape], aut alias duplex, vel de se simplex cum corneto vel liripipio brevi, more prælatorum et graduatorum, nec utatur liripipiis aut typpets a serico vel panno circa collum in publico." Johnson's English Canons, Oxford, 1851, vol. ii. p. 516.



The next class of dresses are those of the Masters and Bachelors of Arts; these appear, judging from a few examples remaining, to have been worn interchangeably; in the majority of instances, however, the two degrees are thus distinguished:—

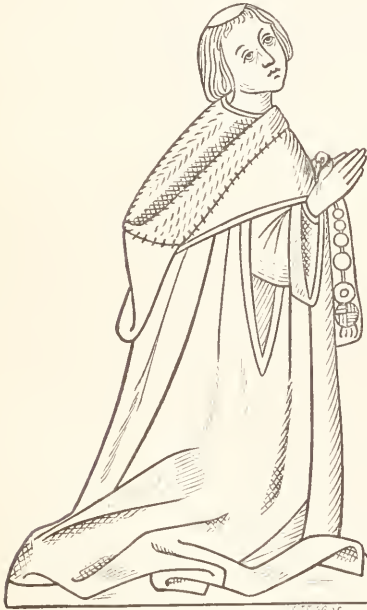
In the fifteenth century Bachelors of Arts and Scholars of Divinity wore a cassock; over it a shorter gown with loose sleeves lined with fur, reaching to the wrists, and falling in a point behind; a cape or tippet edged with fur, and a hood. Good instances of ecclesiastics in this dress are at St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1410; Lydd, Kent, 1420; Thaxted, Essex, c. 1450; New



Priest, c. 1480, Magdalen Coll. Chapel, Oxford.

College, Oxford, 1447, 1451, 1478, 1479; Magdalen College, Oxford, 1478, c. 1480, and c. 1500<sup>s</sup>. This dress appears to have been worn in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, without the cape by ordinary persons, and also with it by Graduates, as by Masters of Arts; for example, a demi-figure, 1445, at Merton College<sup>t</sup>.

The dress of the Master of Arts, after the middle of the fifteenth century, consisted apparently of a cassock, over it a shorter gown, sleeveless, with slits at the sides edged with fur, for the passage of the arms, a tippet, and a hood. The kneeling figure of Wm. Blakwey, M.A., 1521, at Little Wilbraham, Cam-



Wm. Blakwey, M.A., 1521, Little Wilbraham, Camb.

<sup>s</sup> Other examples occur at Royston, Herts., 1432; Boxley, Kent, 1451; Brancepath, Durham, 1456; Surlingham, Norfolk, 1460; Little Shelford, and Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire, c. 1480; Welford, Berks., c. 1490; Abingdon,

Berks., 1501; Broxbourn, Herts., c. 1510; St. Michael Penkevil, Cornwall, 1515.

<sup>t</sup> See the figure of a M.A., 1376, engraved by Montfaucon, Mon. Franc., vol. iii. pl. 17, p. 68.

bridgeshire, affords a good illustration of this costume. Other examples are at Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, c. 1480, 1501, 1523; New College Chapel, Oxford, 1508; and Eton College Chapel, c. 1510; The brass of John Baratte, at Winchester College, who was only B.A., seems, however, to exhibit this dress.

A few brasses present apparently a combination of the dresses of the Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts, as at Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, 1502; Ewelme, Oxon., 1517, (John Spence, B.D.); Bredgar, Kent, 1518; Merton College Chapel, Oxford, 1519?

The academical habit of the Bachelor of Laws was the same as that of the Bachelor of Arts. Thomas Rolf, Professor of Law, 1440, Gosfield, Essex, wears also a coif with two ends or labels dependent in front beneath his hood. The effigy of Thomas Baker,



A Priest, M.A (?), c. 1480, Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford.



Thos. Heron, 1612, Little Herd, Essex. John Stonor, 1612, Wyrdarisbury, Bucks.



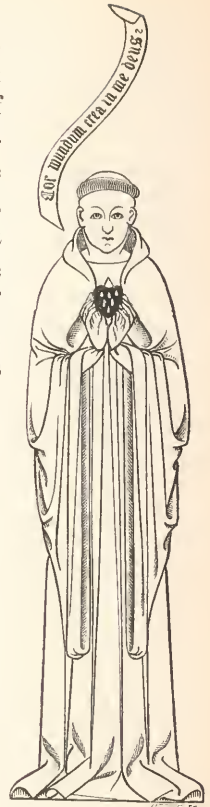
Student of Civil Law, 1510, in All Souls' College Chapel, Oxford, has a hood, and a mantle fastened on the left shoulder, with the front portion thrown over the right arm <sup>u</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> The academical habits of the University of Oxford have, for the last two hundred years, retained their forms unaltered. They appear to be of two classes,

At Headbourn Worthy, Hants., is a small brass to John Kent, Scholar of Winchester College, c. 1420, representing him in a long gown with full sleeves close at the wrists. The figure of John Stonor, 1512, Wyrardisbury, Bucks., probably exhibits the dress of an Eton scholar; he is attired in a cap or hood drawn over the head, a long gown, girded, faced with fur, having tight sleeves, and fastened at the right side. Of the same date is the brass at Little Ilford, Essex, of Thomas Heron, who died at the age of fourteen years, and is portrayed as a school-boy, with his penner and inkhorn suspended at his girdle<sup>x</sup>.

A brief notice of the dresses worn by members of religious orders will suffice.

The brasses of Abbots have been already described. Those of Monks are very rare, owing doubtless to the rules of poverty by which their orders were bound. Their usual habit was a black vestment, shaped like a surplice, with a large hood or cowl; examples of which may be seen on fine brasses at Cowfold, Sussex, 1433, (Cluniac Prior,) St. Lawrence's, Norwich, 1437, and St. Alban's, 1443, c. 1470, 1521, (Benedictines.) At Halvergate, Norfolk, is a most inexpensive brass of a monk, c. 1460, consisting merely of a bust and a small inscription. The eldest son on the brass



Robert Beauner, Monk,  
c. 1470, St. Alban's Abbey.

ecclesiastical and civil. The former, worn by Graduates in Divinity and Arts, and by members on the foundation, have loose sleeves, are destitute of collars, and resemble the more ancient dresses. On the other hand the gowns of Graduates in Law and the other faculties, and of undergraduates (not on the foundation) have falling collars, closer sleeves, (which in the latter instance have dwindled down into mere strips,) and clearly derive their origin from the ordinary dress of civilians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; a description of which is given below.

Brasses of this date, with figures in long civilian gowns and academical hoods, may be seen at the Cathedral, New College and St. John's Chapels, St. Aldate's, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Michael's, Oxford; Eton Coll. Chapel, and Battle, Sussex. The square cap appears on brasses at the last-named place, and at the Cathedral, Oxford, 1587.

<sup>x</sup> In the accounts of the school expenses, &c., of Mr. Richard Fermor, of Somerton, Oxon., in 1582, is this entry, "It. for a penner and inckehorne, v<sup>d</sup>." See Arch. Journ., vol. viii. p. 182.



of John Hampton and wife, 1556, Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire, is dressed as a monk. On a brass at Sawtrey All Saints', Hunts., is the crest of the Stourton family, a demi-figure of a monk, holding a flagellarium, with his cowl drawn over his head. John Stodeley, Canon of St. Frideswide's, Oxford, 1515, at Overwinchendon, Bucks., wears the habit of the Canons of St. Austin, which consisted of a black cassock, over which was a white rochet, (represented by white metal inlaid,) with close sleeves and girded, and a black cloak and hood. On the brass lettern at Yeovil, Somerset, is engraved the small figure of "Frater Martinus Forester," c. 1460? habited apparently in monastic costume, consisting of a cowl, a cape, and a gown shaped like an albe, and secured round the waist with a cord<sup>7</sup>.

Two brasses only of Abbesses are known<sup>8</sup>: one is at Elstow, Beds., to Dame Elizabeth Hervey, c. 1530, and the other, of which an engraving will be found on the next page, at Denham, Bucks., to Dame Agnes Jordan, Abbess of Syon, c. 1540<sup>a</sup>. At Nether Wallop, Hants., is an effigy of Maria Gore, Prioress, 1436. Their dress, which was the ordinary mourning habit, consists



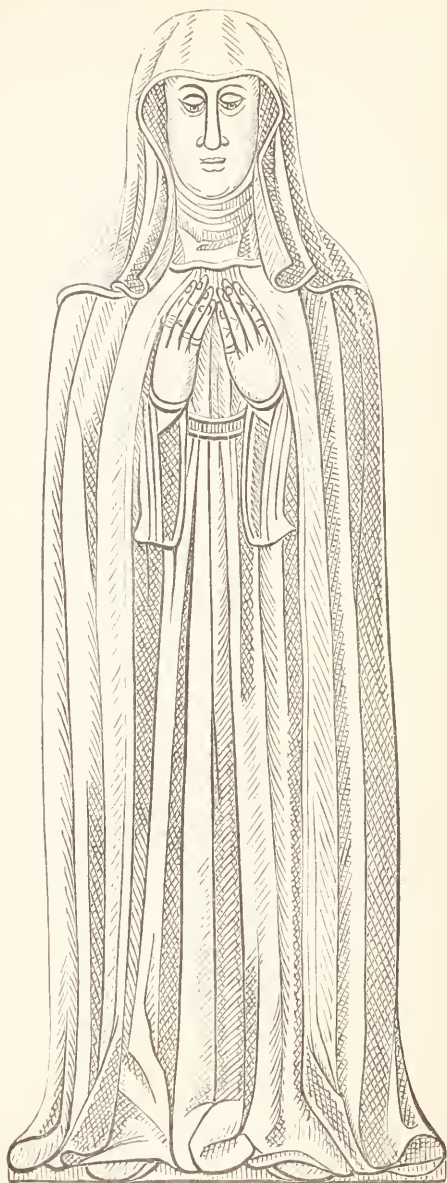
Dame Alice Hampton, Nun,  
c. 1556. Minchinhampton,  
Gloucestershire.

<sup>7</sup> At Milton Abbas, Dorset, and Middleham, Yorks., are brass inscriptions to monks, and at Westminster Abbey a slab with matrices of the figures of two monks, Thos. Brown and Robt. Humfrey, 1508. In an account of the Cistercian Monastery of Dunderman, in Galloway, by the Rev. Æneas B. Hutchison, in the *Trans. of the Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi. pt. i. pp. 81, 84, are engravings of the incised slab of a monk and a nun (?).

<sup>8</sup> There are matrices of the brasses of abbesses at Minster, Isle of Thanet (crosses), Romsey Abbey, and Wimborne Minster. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lv. pt. ii. p. 935, is an engraving of the mutilated brass of Isabel Sackville, last prioress of St. Mary's Priory, Clerkewell, who died 1570. A palimpsest brass of a prioress is at St. Stephen's, Norwich, 1546.

<sup>a</sup> Agnes Jordan died in 1544. The engraving of her brass has been kindly lent the author by J. G. Nichols, Esq.

In the *Collectanea Topog. et Geneal.*, vol. i. p. 32, are printed some rules of the Monastery of Syon, Middx., taken from the Add. MS. No. 5,208, in the British Museum. One of these rules is as follows: "Of the dede how they shal be buryed . . . they schal clothe the body withe stamen [linsey woolsey] cowle, and mantel, wymple, veyle, and crowne, withe oute rewle cote, but with hosen and schone tanned, and withe a gyrdel, whiche al schal be of the vileste gere, and in al these excepte mantel, seche shal be buryed." The monastery of Syon was founded by Henry V. in 1414, soon after which time the rules were drawn up. It was established according to the modified order of St. Saviour and St. Bridget. As the monastery had the manor of Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire, granted it by its founder, it is most probable that Dame Alice Hampton, (whose figure at that church is engraved above as an illustration of the costume of a nun,) was a member of that society.



Dam. Agnes, 1640, c. 1640, Ighiteham, Bucks.

of a long white gown, a black mantle or cloak <sup>b</sup>, a white plaited barbe or chin cloth, a white veil head-dress, and a ring. The effigy at Elstow has a pastoral-staff on the *right* arm. Figures of nuns in similar attire may be seen at Westminster Abbey (?), to Eleanor de Bohun, 1399; at Frenze, Norfolk, to Dame Joan Braham, "deo dicata," 1519; at St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, to Dame Joan Cook, 1529; at Shalston, Bucks., to Dame Susan Kyngeston, 1540, all of them widows <sup>c</sup>, and among the children on brasses at St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich, c. 1440; Dagenham, Essex, 1479; and Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire, c. 1510. At Isleworth, Middx., is a small brass commemorative of Margaret Dely, 1561, "A Syster professed yn Syon," of which nunnery she was treasurer; this figure and that at Norwich are without the mantle.

The description of the vestments worn by ecclesiastics of our Church after the Reformation will be deferred until the general notice of the brasses of the sixteenth century.

The Robes of the Judges, Barons of the Exchequer, and other law officers, are next in order to be described; they consisted of a coif <sup>d</sup> or close scull-cap, a long robe with narrow sleeves, a hood, a tippet, and a mantle buttoned on the right shoulder. The last two were lined with minever. Good examples of this costume are at Watford, Herts., 1415; Graveney, Kent, 1436; Cople, Beds., 1544. The effigy of Nicholas Luke, Esq., one of the Barons of the Exchequer, 1563, at the last-named church, is without the coif; that of Henry Bradshawe, Esq., 1598, at Noke, Oxon., has no mantle. Serjeants-at-law were not allowed to wear the mantle nor minever, but lambs' wool instead of fur, and to their hoods two labels were

<sup>b</sup> This garment was perhaps called a cope, as in Hubert Walter's 14th Canon, made at Westminster, A.D. 1200, quoted supra, p. lxxv. note f.

<sup>c</sup> The brass at Shalston was probably engraved by the same hand as that at Denham. It was not uncommon for a widow on the death of her husband to "take religion," (as the expression is on an inscription at Appleton, Berks.) or become a *vidua pullata*, or mourning widow, and entitled to the appellation of "Dame." See Fosbrooke's History of Gloucester, Lond. 1819, pp. 301, 302. William, earl of Pem-

broke, in his will made in 1469, left this direction to his countess "and wyfe, that ye remember your promise to me, to take the order of wydowhood, as ye may be the better mayster of your owne, to perform my wylle, and to helpe my children as I love and trust you," &c. Test. Vetusta, p. 304. After the murder of her husband Thomas duke of Gloucester, in 1397, his widow, Eleanor de Bohun, retired to the nunnery at Barking, Essex, where she died.

<sup>d</sup> As judges were occasionally ecclesiastics, the coif was worn by them to cover the tonsure.

attached<sup>e</sup>. Their dress may be seen on brasses at St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, 1522; Whaddon, Bucks., 1519; perhaps at Cople, Beds., c. 1410; Gosfield, Essex, 1440; and without the cape on a brass at Harefield, Middx., 1544. John Edward, 1461, Rodmarton, Gloucestershire, "*famosus apprenticeus in lege peritus*," wears simply a round cap, in addition to his ordinary habit.

Before quitting the subject of the ecclesiastical and judicial vestments, the following brasses, which are partly connected with them, deserve to be pointed out. At Winwick, Lancashire, Sir Peter Legh, 1527, who, on the death of his wife, relinquished his knightly calling for the priestly office, is represented wearing a chasuble over his armour<sup>f</sup>. A somewhat similar practice was adopted by Knights who held some civil



Sir Hugh de Holes, Justice of the King's Bench, 1415, Watford, Herts.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>e</sup> Chauncy's Herts., p. 76.

<sup>f</sup> Similar instances of widowers becoming priests are afforded by inscriptions at Bodyham, Sussex, 1513, and Merton, Norfolk, 1556. One or two brasses occur in which the clerical character is apparently relinquished. At Nutfield, Surrey, the figure of William Grafton, "*quondam clericus hujus ecclesie*," c. 1465, is without the tonsure, in secular costume, and accompanied by the effigy of a wife. Thomas Awnarle, Rector, c. 1400, at Cardynham, Cornwall, had his brass laid down in his lifetime; the figure has the tonsure, but the costume is that of a civilian, with a short sword suspended at the side. By the 2nd Constitutions of Abps. Stratford and Bourne, 1343, 1463, the clergy were restricted from wearing gilt or highly ornamented swords and purses at their girdles. Johnson's Eng. Canons, ed. 1851, pp. 381, 382, 516.

<sup>g</sup> The marginal inscription, now lost, is in part preserved by Weever, Fun. Mon., p. 591. *Hic facit Hugo de Holes miles, Justiciarius Banci Regis tempore regni ... obiit Ann., 1415.* See also the Lansdown MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 874, fol. 69 a.

The following is a list of brasses illustrative of the judicial costume.

1400. Sir John Cassy, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.  
 1415. Sir Hugh de Holes, Watford, Herts.  
 1419. Wm. Lodyngton, Gunby, Lincolnshire.  
 1420. Rd. Norton, Wath, Yorkshire.  
 c. 1420. John Staverton? Eyke, Suffolk.  
 1436. John Martyn, Graveney, Kent.  
 1439. Sir John Juyn, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.  
 1439. John Cottesmore, Baldwin Brightwell, Oxon.  
 c. 1465. Nich. Assheton, Callington, Cornwall.  
 1467. Sir Peter Arderne, Latton, Essex.  
 1475. Wm. Laken, Bray, Berks.  
 1476. Sir Rd. Bingham, Middleton, Warwickshire.  
 1479. Sir Thos. Urswyk, Dagenham, Essex.  
 1481. Thos. Billing, Wappenham, Northants.  
 1494. Brian Rouelyff, Cowthorpe, Yorkshire.

office. Thus William Yelverton, Judge, c. 1470, Rougham, Norfolk, and Sir Wm. Harper, Alderman, 1573, St. Paul's, Bedford, wear their official robes in addition to their armour. The armed effigy of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, 1454, at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, has also a cloak<sup>b</sup>.

Such are the particulars requiring notice with respect to the figures delineated on brasses: next to which the accessorial devices claim attention. Of these the most prominent and beautiful are the canopies, which derive their origin from the horizontal canopies placed round the sculptured effigies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The canopies over single figures have sometimes one pediment and sometimes three; and in a few instances, two figures are beneath a canopy with a single pediment: as at Ashby St. Leger's, Northants., 1416, and in the brasses formerly at Ingham, Norfolk, to Sir Miles Stapleton and wife, 1365; and Merton College Chapel, to Thomas Harper and Ralph Hamsterley, 1518. At Chrishall, Essex, the two figures of Sir John de la Pole and lady, c. 1370, with their hands joined,



Sir Peter Legh, 1537,  
Winwick, Lancashire.<sup>1</sup>

1513. Wm. Sloughter, St. Mary's, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire.

1538. Sir Anth. Fitzherbert, Northbury, Derbyshire.

1544. Sir Walter Luke, Cople, Beds.

1545. Thos. Holte, Esq., Aston, Warwickshire.

1553. Hen. Bradshawe, Halton, Bucks.

1553. Wm. Coke, Milton, Camb.

1556. Sir John Spelman, Narburgh, Norfolk.

1563. Nich. Luke, Esq., Cople, Beds.

1598. Hen. Bradshawe, (ob. 1553,) Noke, Oxon.

<sup>b</sup> In the chapter on Costume in Fosbrooke's *Brit. Mon.*, p. 389, is an engraving of a stone effigy of a knight from Conington, Hunts., who wears a cassock and cowl over his mail, having probably ended his days in the cloister. "At Baden-Baden is a monument to

Frederic, Bishop of Utrecht, who died in 1517; it is of bronze, and represents the bishop in complete armour, over which he wears a cope, and on his head the mitre." See the article in the *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. v. p. 262. This instance indicates the union of temporal and spiritual power. Sir John Crosbie, 1475, is represented on his tomb at Great St. Helen's, London, with his alderman's mantle over his plate armour. The brass of George Pontesbury, 1550, formerly at St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, was an armed figure wearing a cloak. It is engraved in Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury*, vol. ii. p. 289.

<sup>1</sup> This figure is copied by permission from Messrs. Waller's engraving of the entire brass. The arms on the shield are Haydock, Legh, Ashton, Molyneux, and parted per fess Croft and Butler.

recline beneath a triple canopy. On the other hand, at Haddenham, Cambridgeshire, 1405, (the figure lost,) and Sefton, Lancashire, 1528, are instances of single figures under double canopies. Over the pediment immediately above the figure, we sometimes find a second canopy, (see frontispiece,) consisting of an arch supporting an entablature of pierced quatrefoils, &c. Canopies of this design occur without the pediment at Balsham, Cambridgeshire, 1462, and in Surrey, at Lingfield, 1420, and Beddington, 1432. A row of quatrefoils is often placed also beneath the feet of the effigies.

The usual position of the Inscriptions on brasses is under the figure, or on the margin, surrounding the whole design; in which case they have usually a cross, and in a few instances a hand<sup>k</sup>, prefixed to them, to indicate the beginning of the legend. In a few rare cases the inscription is over the figure; as at Acton Burnell, Shropshire, 1382. Sometimes a sentence is engraven upon it, as at South Ockendon, Essex, 1400; St. Mary Tower, Ipswich, c. 1475. At Bushley, Worcestershire, the words *deus mc'*, — *deus meus es tu*, are inscribed on a lady's girdle and head-dress. The date of the death (1383) of Nicholas de Louth is inscribed on the shaft of the canopy of his brass at Cottingham, Yorkshire. On altartombs marginal inscriptions are usually inlaid in a chamfer or slanting edge of the slab: and then, for convenience of reading, the words face from the brass, instead of to it.

It was a frequent practice to inscribe on brasses Leonine verses<sup>l</sup>, a corrupted form of Heroic or Elegiac verse, in which the last syllables of the hemistichs are made to rhyme; as in the following couplets from Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1458, and Herne, Kent, c. 1530:—

*Respice quid prodest presentis temporis ebum :*  
*Omne quod est, nichil est, preter amare deum.*  
*Hic chorus indecorus fuerat, nunc valde decorus ;*  
*Andreas is sum, qui decoravit eum.*

An inscription engraved on a large scroll, now much defaced, over

<sup>k</sup> Enfield, Middx., 1446, Trinity Hall, Cambridge, c. 1510. The cross or hand is hardly ever found at the beginning of any legend that is not placed around the figure; exceptions occur at Nuffield, Oxon., c. 1360; Hillesdon, Norfolk, 1389; and Dartmouth, Devon, 1403.

<sup>l</sup> They are said to be derived from

Leoninus, a monk of Marseilles, who wrote some Latin poems in the early part of the twelfth century: they were, however, used long before his time, perhaps as early as the sixth century. About the end of the sixteenth century they became obsolete.

the figure of John Asger, 1436, at St. Laurence, Norwich, is a good specimen of the usual style of these compositions. Without the contractions, it is as follows :—

Qui me conspiciatis, pro certo scire potestis  
 Quod sum vos eritis, olim fueram velut estis.  
 Ut merear veniam precibus me queso iunctis,  
 Ad vos non veniam, sed vos ad me benictis.  
 Parce tibi, domine, dicatis, vel miserere,  
 Ne possim flere sed letari sine fine.  
 Da requiem cunctis, deus, et ubique sepultis,  
 Ut sint in requie, propter tua vulnera quinque.

The versification is often very faulty, as the above examples shew, and the dates are forced into the verse in a very confused manner, as may be seen in the following instances :—

Constance Cathedral, Bishop Hallum, 1416 :—

Anno Milleno tricent' octuageno  
 Sex cū ter dens cum xpō biuat ameno.

New College, Oxford, Archbishop Cranley, 1417 :—

M C Iunge quater E (?) duplex V numerā ter,  
 Eubentes annum quo ruit iste pater.

Roydon, Essex, Thomas Colte, Esq., 1471 :—

M C quater · semel l · x · b · bis.<sup>s</sup> & Anno probus iste  
 Augusti mensis · x bis. et J bis.<sup>s</sup> die obiit.

Sherbourn St. John, Hants., Bernard Brocas, Esq., 1488 ?—

Sed dñi Centenis multiplicatis  
 Bis septenario septenarius duodeno  
 Quattuor hijs addo numerū tibi p'ficiendo.

Allusions to the heathen mythology are occasionally to be met with, as at Westminster Abbey, 1471, and at Harrow, Middx., on the tomb of John Flambarde, c. 1390, whose name is curiously divided in the inscription :—

Non me'vo marmore Numinis ordine flam tuūlat'  
 Bard qoz verbere stigis E fun're hic tueatur.

A similar instance was once at Bagington, Warwickshire :—

Est caro nostra cinis, modo principium, modo finis,  
 Omne quod exoritur terra fit et cito moritur.  
 Atropos ante fores adstat reliquæq; sorores.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Dodsworth's MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. 5,029, vol. 88, § 5, fol. 15 a. The inscription on the brass

of Thos. Williams, Esq., Harford, Devon, ends thus: "and now in heaven with mightie Iove doth Reigne."

Although the Leonine verses are all of them very similar in style, yet hardly any two lines on different inscriptions are to be found exactly alike. Two verses, however, of the inscription on the fine brass of Sir Morys Russel and lady, 1401, at Dyrham, Gloucestershire, were also to be found on the brass, of about the same date, of Nicholas Stafford and wife, formerly at St. Mary's, Stafford, the names of the wives being the only difference:—

Esabel sponsa fuit huius militis ista  
Que tacet absconsa sub marmorea modo cista.<sup>n</sup>

Certain sets of verses were favourites during certain periods, the one at Northleach<sup>o</sup> for instance; the principal of these will be given in the chronological account of the inscriptions.

Barbarous and faulty, however, as are these verses, they are not devoid of interest, when we consider that many of them were probably composed by the most eminent men of the period. We learn from Weever<sup>p</sup> that John Wheathamsted, Abbot of St. Alban's (1420—1460), "made certaine epitaphs" formerly in that abbey and the neighbouring churches; as at South Mimms, Middx., where there is a curious set of verses to the memory of Thomas Frowyck, Esq., and wife, 1448. The rhyming inscription at Wheathampstead, Herts., c. 1450, to Hugo Bostok and his wife Margaret Macry, parents of John de Wheathamsted, was doubtless from the pen of the Abbot, as the writer describes them as the father and mother, "Pastoris pecorum prothomartiris angligenarum," which expression Mr. Boutell has shewn to have probably been a favourite one with the Abbot when making reference to himself<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> In the inscription at Stafford the wife's name was Elizabeth. See Ashmole's Collections for Staffordshire, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. 853, vol. i. fol. 12 a. The inscription on the brass of Judge Martyn, 1436, at Grave-ney, Kent, has been adopted on the monument of Judge Manwood, 1592, at Hackington, in the same county. See Oxford Manual of Mon. Brasses, p. 110, No. 264. The sixteen English verses on the brass of Emma Foxe, c. 1570, at Aldeburgh, Suffolk, and printed at the end of this volume, are contained in the inscription of Thomas Malodge, Warden of the Cutlers' Company, at St. Olave's, Southwark. See Aubrey's Surrey, vol. v. p. 60.

<sup>o</sup> According to Weever, Fun. Mon.,

p. 748, a similar inscription was to be found at Long Melford, Suffolk.

<sup>p</sup> Fun. Mon., pp. 574, 592, where several of these epitaphs are printed.

<sup>q</sup> A MS. of Valerius Maximus, presented by him to the library of the University of Oxford, and still preserved in the Bodleian Library, is thus inscribed:—

fratribus Oxonie datur in munus iste  
Johñem Wethamstede  
per patrem pecorum prothomartiris  
Angligenarum.

See Boutell's Mon. Brasses and Slabs, p. 109. The inscriptions at South Mimms and Wheathampstead will be found printed in Appendix B. at the end of this volume.



Sometimes we find the name of the writer recorded, as at Lambeth, where the English verses formerly on the brass of Thomas Clerc, Esquire, 1545, were written by his friend the well-known poet, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. Stephen, a chantry priest, was the author of the Latin rhyming verses now lost from the brass of Sir Peter Arderne, 1467, Latton, Essex; and no doubt almost all the Leonine verses were composed by ecclesiastics who were friends of the deceased. The epitaph, in Latin elegiacs, on Thomas Noke, 1567, at Shottesbrooke, Berks., is stated on the brass to have been the work of Lady Elizabeth Hobbie, who seems to have had a great taste for these compositions<sup>r</sup>. It was not uncommon for persons to write their own epitaphs, as is seen by the brasses of John Claimond, c. 1530, at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; John White, Warden, c. 1545, Winchester College Chapel<sup>s</sup>; Thos. Nele, 1590, at Casington, Oxon.<sup>t</sup>; Robert Fabyan the Chronicler<sup>u</sup>, &c.

In addition to the date, the regnal year of the sovereign is often inserted in the inscriptions of the fifteenth and following centuries, especially on brasses of persons connected with the court, or holding any official position; when the person died upon a saint's day or its eve, the day was generally mentioned; and sometimes the dominical letter was given, as in the brass of John Sadler, Priest, Farrington, Berks., who died "*Anno Domini Millesimo cccc<sup>o</sup> litora*

<sup>r</sup> These three inscriptions are printed in the Oxford Manual, pp. 84, 116, 142, Nos. 214, 277, 350. Lady Hoby wrote the epitaphs on her first husband, Sir Thomas Hoby, her two daughters, and her brother, at Bisham Church, Berks., and probably that on her second husband, Lord Russel, at Westminster Abbey; she also made proper arrangements for her own obsequies. See her portrait and the notice of it in Lodge's engravings of Portraits of Illustrious Personages of the Court of Henry VIII., by Hans Holbein, Lond., 1812. Writing epitaphs is said to have been a favourite occupation of Mary Queen of Scots.

<sup>s</sup> One of the lines runs thus, "*Scriptor Johanes, carnis ipse mei.*"

John White, Bishop of Winchester, preached the memorable funeral sermon of Queen Mary (printed in Strype, Memor., vol. iii. pt. 2.) and wrote also, among others, a work in Latin verse, the title of which is "*Diacosio-Mar-*

*tyrion, i.e. 200 virorum Testim. de verit. Corp. et Sang. Christi in Eucharistia,*" &c. 4to. Lond. 1553. At fol. 82, in the verses on John Claymund, there is an account of an occurrence which happened when the church of St. Mary-the-Virgin, Oxford, took fire during divine service in 1536.

<sup>t</sup> See supra, p. xliv. Thomas Neale was Hebrew Professor, and wrote a dialogue in Latin elegiacs, on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Oxford with the Chancellor (Earl of Leicester), giving a description of the Colleges, &c., with drawings of them. It was printed from the original MS. in the Bodleian, by Hearne, with Dodwell de Parma. Equ. &c. Oxon., 1713, 8vo.

<sup>u</sup> Supra, p. lx. note m. See also note n. In the Testamenta Vetusta are several wills directing the exact inscription to be placed on the tomb of the testator.

dominicali &c.” The inscription on the Flemish brass at Aveley, Essex, is a good instance of these peculiarities, it also records the week-day of the decease :—

Hic iacet Radulphus de Kincynnton. Obitus idem die Jouis ante festū s̄ci Nicholai Episcopi anno dñi millmo. ccc. lxx. iṛā dñical. f.

The Roman mode of computation by calends. &c., was rarely used, and generally confined to the inscriptions of ecclesiastics, as Cheriton, Kent, 1502; it occurs on that of a civilian, at Necton, Norfolk, 1499. One part of the inscription was occasionally written in one language, the other in a different one; Norman French and Latin, Latin and English are thus combined, and even these last two are found jumbled together in the same verses<sup>7</sup>.

Every opportunity of alliteration, punning, and playing upon the sound of the words, especially the name of the deceased, was seized upon; as in the inscriptions to William Moor, 1456, Tattershall, Lincolnshire, and Thomas Hylle, 1468, New College Chapel, Oxford; the latter has this couplet :—

Mons in valle iacet: quem tu deus erige rursam.  
ut valeat montem cristū p̄fingere sursum.

The same practice may be seen as late as 1610, in the brass of Henry Airay, at Queen’s College, Oxford :—

IGNIS ET AFFLANTES PURGARUNT AERA VENTI  
TRANSITVS IN COELVM PROMPTIOR INDE PATET.

Perhaps the most extravagant instance to be met with is the epitaph of John Day, the printer, 1584, at Little Bradley, Suffolk<sup>2</sup>. The custom amounted at last to absolute profaneness, as in the brass of Anthony Cooke, at Yoxford, Suffolk, 1610.

The usual form of desiring the prayers of the reader was “Orate pro anima,” or “Of your charite pray for the soul of<sup>a</sup>.” In in-

<sup>2</sup> Other instances are at Mere, Wilts., 1398; Trinity Almshouse Chapel, 1411; St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, 1475; Eversley, Hants., 1502.

<sup>7</sup> See the account of inscriptions on brasses of the sixteenth century. At Felstead, Essex, is this epitaph: Thomas Ryche filius Roberti ryche Militis obiit 1564 et sepultus erat apud felsted. the 4 of februarye.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription will be found in Appendix B.

<sup>a</sup> In a few inscriptions there are pecu-

liar invitations or directions to pray for the soul of the deceased; as at Cardynham, Cornwall, on the brass of Thos. Awmarle, put down before his death, c. 1400: “Rogo vos fratres orate pro me et ego pro vobis in quantum possum.” At Chesterfield, Derbyshire, 1500, in the epitaph of John Verdon, “pro cuius anima sic queso orate prout pro vestris animabus orari volueritis.” At St. Alphege, Canterbury, on the brass of Robt. Gosebourne, 1523, “et prece posce ei quod cupis esse tibi.”

scriptions on windows of painted glass, which were commonly erected during the lifetime of those they commemorate, the form was very frequently "Orate pro bono statu," or, "Pray for the good estate (or prosperity):" and this is sometimes found on brasses; as at Milton, Cambridgeshire, in behalf of Alice Coke, who, surviving her husband, had a brass laid down containing figures of both. Similar instances are at Catterick, Yorks., 1492; Crosthwaite, Cumberland, 1527; Fairford, Gloucestershire, 1534; Harefield, Middx., 1537; and Newington, Kent, in which church is a brass of Thomas Chylton and wife, 1501, the former of whom, dying first, is represented in a shroud, but his wife in her proper costume<sup>b</sup>.

Inscriptions are often met with turned upside down, which is probably owing to inaccurate relaying. The clauses containing the prayers for the soul of the deceased are sometimes found defaced, especially in the neighbourhood of London; and as this is generally the case in brasses laid down a short time before the Reformation, it is probable that such erasures were made by friends, to prevent the entire demolition of the memorials. On the brass of John Berners, Esq., and wife, Finchingfield, Essex, 1523. the objectionable clause has been marked out for destruction, which has never been carried into effect.

A list of the principal titles of rank and office is given in Appendix E, at the end of this volume. The designations of ecclesiastics may be specially mentioned here. According to Fuller<sup>c</sup>, "Such Priests as have 'Sir' before their Christian name were not graduated in the University, being in orders and not in degrees; whilst others, entitled 'Masters,' had commenced in the Arts." It appears that the appellation 'Sir,' in Latin *Dominus*, might be used by all ecclesiastics. For the sake of distinction, knights usually wrote their title of 'knight' after their names.

The frequent Contractions used in inscriptions on brasses present

<sup>b</sup> In Langley's Desborough, p. 456, a curious inscription, containing the same phraseology, is described as existing on a brass at Wooburn, Bucks. It begins, "Pray for the soule of Margaret Awdelett daughter of John Awdelett, gentilman, and for the good astate of William Welbik, marchant of the staple of the towne of Caleyse, unto whom she shuld have been married, upou whose soule Jhu

have mercy," &c. 1522. The latter part of this inscription somewhat resembles that at Ditton, Kent, to Rowland Shakerley, Gent., 1576, who "hadd this Memoryall of his dea he made by a young Gentlewoman as an argument of her vnseperable good meanyge Towardes hym."

<sup>c</sup> Church History, vi. 5. 10.

many difficulties to those who are unaccustomed to such studies: as the present volume will probably fall into the hands of many such persons, it has seemed desirable to add the following short explanation of them.

One of the most common is the omission of the letters 'm' and 'n,' usually indicated by a horizontal line placed over the contiguous vowel: e. g., Norm. Fr. *fc̄mē* (femme); Lat. *ā̄a* (anima), *hō̄im* (hominem), *ī* (in), *l̄gū* (legum), *ō̄is* (omnis), *quō̄dā* (quondam), *Sept̄ēbris* (Septembris); Engl. *ō* (on), *s̄ū̄tyme* (sometime), *gentil̄mā* (gentleman), &c.

Another ordinary abbreviation is the leaving out the letter 'r' in conjunction with the preceding or following vowel; this is generally shewn by an apostrophe, more rarely by a horizontal line: e. g., Norm. Fr. *gr̄c* (grace), *lō'* (lour, leur), *p'* (pur, pour), *p'ra* (prieria); Lat. *cl'icus* (clericus), *gen'osus* (generosus), *gl̄ia* (gloria), *Kat'ina* (Katerina), *m'tator* (mercator), *nup'* (nuper), *prop'iciet'* (propicietur), *Rob'tus* (Robertus), *s'uiens* (serviens), *r'ra* (terra), *v'mibus* (vermibus), *ux'* (uxor), &c.; Eng. *dep'ud* (departed), *m'cy* (mercy), *M'gret* (Margaret), *res'raion* (resurrection), *s'g'ant* (serjeant), *s'* (sir), &c., &c.

This omission of a vowel with 'r' is exceedingly common in words whose first syllable, or first two, begin with 'p.' In the former case a line is often drawn under the 'p,' and in the latter the two 'pp' are conjoined thus, *pp*: e. g., Lat. *p'cedente* (præcedente), *p'clarus* (præclarus), *p'dictus* (prædictus), *p'fatus* (præfatus), *p'fessor* (professor), *pp'iciet'* (propicietur), *ppositus* (præpositus), &c.; Eng. *p'don* (pardon), *p'son* (parson), *p'ish* (parish), &c.

Sometimes a vowel was written *over* the adjacent consonant, e. g., in *m'chant* (merchant), the 'a' stands quite over the following 'n,' so in *pr'ctor*, *p'ay* (pray), *q'* (qui), *q'udm* (quidem), *quō'dam* (quondam), *Thom'as*, &c.

At the end of some words a consonant is in the same way placed above, e. g., *or* (our), *quod* (quod), *wh'ch* (which), *wh'os* (whose), *wit* (wit, with), *your* (your), *that* (that), &c.

The termination in 'is,' 'us,' 'e,' and sometimes 's,' are made by a single apostrophe: e. g., *mens'* (mensis), *pietat'* (pietatis), *Octobr'* (Octobris), *dom'* (domus), *ejus'* (ejus), *int'* (intus), *un'* (unus); *miserere'* (miserere), *yere'* (yere), *dwells'* (dwells), &c.

The dative and ablative cases in 'abus,' which were much used in the middle ages, were thus contracted: *animabz* (animabus), *filiaz* (filia-

bus). The same mark ‘z’ is used in the abbreviation of que, e. g., qz, quízqz (quisque), &c.

The contraction for the genitive plural in ‘um,’ is two apostrophes : e. g., Quor” aīar” (Quorum animarum).

Words ending cionis, cionem, &c.<sup>d</sup>, were shortened thus, cōis, cōm : e. g., purificacōis (purificationis), consolidacōem (consolidationem).

In many words, especially proper names, ending in ‘h,’ ‘t,’ and ‘n,’ a mark of contraction is placed over the last letter to indicate the elision of the final ‘e,’ e. g., Elizabeth, Taknell, Johā, Hortoñ, saluacōñ.

There were several other contractions of words in frequent use, which followed no particular rule. The chief of these are given below.

bēfīcta	beneficia
bñdīcat	benedicat
canōñ	canonicus
cōis, cōi.	communis, i.
dc̄s, dc̄i, &c.	dictus, i, &c.
Dñs, Dñi, Dña.	Dominus, i, a.
Ds	Deus
Eclīa, Eclīe, Eclē, Eclē, Eccc.	Ecclesia, a.
Eps, Ep̄i.	Episcopus, i.
fī, fr̄is.	frater, tris, so pater, &c.
gīa, gīe, gr̄a.	gratia, a.
ih̄c, ih̄s, Īhu, &c.	Jesus, Jesu.
Joh̄c̄s, Joh̄is.	Johannes, is.
ip̄e, ip̄ius, &c.	ipse, ipsius, &c.
kl’	kalendas
l’ra	litera
magī, magīi, mī, mīi.	magister, tri.
mī	mili
mīa, mīe.	miseriordia, a.
millīno, millīo, &c.	millesimo
Nīchūs	Nicholaus
nī, nīi.	noster, tri, so vester, &c.
q’	quum, quod
p’brī	presbyteri
Radūs	Radulphus
r̄tor	rector
Rīcūs	Richardus
s̄c̄s, s̄c̄i.	sanctus, i.
sc̄lī	scaccarii

<sup>d</sup> ‘c’ was generally used before ‘i’ instead of ‘t;’ it was often inserted between ‘i’ and ‘h,’ e. g., michi, nichil;

damna was written dampna, in aeternum, in eternum, Jesus, Jhesus, &c.

s̄c̄do, &c.	secundo, &c.
s̄c̄dū	secundum
s̄p̄s	spiritus
W̄illm̄s, W̄illm̄.	Willielmus, i.
x̄p̄s, x̄p̄ i. e. χρ̄s <sup>e</sup>	Christus, i.
x̄pc̄n	Christen, Christian
x̄p̄ofc̄r	Christopher

Where there was but little room, the words were often contracted in a very arbitrary manner. In other cases two concurring letters, which admitted of it, were conjoined like *Æ* diphthong<sup>f</sup>; especially *va*, *de*, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *ne*. In Norman French inscriptions, the substantive and its article or pronoun were generally united, as *saime*, for *sa aime*.

Besides the subjects upon brasses already described, we find a variety of Emblems and Devices. They usually accompany figures, canopies, &c., as a part of the design; but in a few instances they stand alone with an inscription, and constitute the entire memorial. These devices may be divided into three classes: I. Ecclesiastical, II. Heraldic, III. Professional, or personal devices which are not Heraldic.

I. Ecclesiastical. These furnish many instances of the use, as well as of the abuse, of a custom very prevalent in the middle ages, of embodying certain doctrines in pictures: for instance, on brasses at St. Mary's, Oxford, 1507, and Northleach, Gloucestershire, c. 1530, the Romish tenet of the invocation of Saints has been curiously represented. At the former church, the person commemorated is portrayed kneeling, and with a scroll from the mouth to a figure of St. Catherine, thus inscribed:—

auxiliare tuis famulū precibz kat'ina  
 ut mī cū sup̄eris sit sine fine locus.

On another scroll, from St. Catherine to a representation of the Holy Trinity (now lost), are the words:—

Obsecro sūme de' veniā concede precāi  
 Edmundo croston gloria sine carens.

At Northleach a label proceeds from the mouth of the effigy of the

<sup>e</sup> The *XP.* interlaced does not appear on brasses as a sacred monogram.

<sup>f</sup> Diphthongs were not used until the sixteenth century.

deceased, with this inscription addressed to a figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Child:—

☉ regina poli mediatrix esto *Lawder* *Willel.*

Over this, on another label to a large representation of the Holy Trinity,—

☉ nomen celi *Lawder* miserere *Willel.*

Although legendary incidents in the lives of saints are occasionally found on foreign brasses, yet one instance only has been observed in this country; at Macclesfield, Cheshire, on the brass of Roger Legh, Esq., and wife, 1506. Above the figures is a small quadrangular plate with a pope kneeling before an altar, on which are a chalice and an open book; a representation of our Saviour rising from the tomb being at the back. Beneath is this inscription:—

The pson for sayng of v pater nost' & v aues and a cred is xxvj thousand petes and xxvj dayes of pardon.

This engraving is considered by Mr. Waller to refer to a passage in the life of St. Gregory, called St. Gregory's Mass<sup>g</sup>.

The selection of the figures of saints, so often found on brasses, appears to have been made upon a varying principle; sometimes the patron saint of the church, chantry, chapel, or religious house was taken, as St. Alban at St. Alban's Abbey, c. 1360; St. Ethelbert at Hereford Cathedral, 1529; St. Pancras on the brass of Thomas Nelond, Prior of Lewes, 1433; and the Blessed Virgin Mary at Wimpole, Cambridgeshire, 1501: sometimes that of the individual was selected; thus the brass of John de Waltham at Westminster Abbey contained three figures at least of saints who bore his own name John. If the deceased had belonged to some religious society or guild, its patron saint was often adopted on his monument. Thus on the brass at Swansea of Sir Hugh Johnys, who "was made knight at the holy sepulere of oure lord ihū crist in the city of Jerusalem," A.D. 1441, is a representation of our blessed Saviour's resurrection. The brass at St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, of John Cook, 1529, who belonged to the fraternity of St. John the Baptist established in that church, has on the canopy a figure of the saint, near whose altar he desired to be buried. Or the saint was chosen

<sup>g</sup> See the article on Mon. Brasses in Esq., in the Journ. of the Brit. Arch. Cheshire and Lancashire, by J. G. Waller, Assoc., vol. v. p. 256.

on whose festival or eve the person commemorated died; e. g., at Burford, Oxon., there were formerly the figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Child on the brass of John Spycer, "qui obiit in Vigilia Purificacionis beatissime virginis Marie," 1437.

The following list contains the principal ecclesiastical emblems on brasses.

1. Symbols of the Holy Trinity.

a. The ancient verbal emblem. Examples occur at St. Cross, Hants., 1382; Cowfold, Sussex, 1433; and Northleach, Gloucestershire, c. 1530.

β. Representations of the Almighty Father, or Ancient of Days, in the form of an aged Person, seated, and holding a crucifix, upon which the Dove, the emblem of the Holy Spirit, is alighting. The last is sometimes omitted, as at Hildersham, Camb., c. 1380. Examples are very numerous. On brasses at Childrey, Berks., 1507, and Chacomb, Northants., c. 1543, the representation of the Holy Trinity is the most prominent feature in the design.

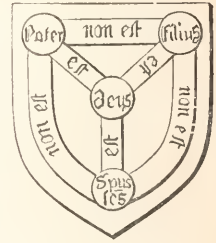
γ. Three human figures. This symbol is apparently on the brass of Dean Frowsetoure, 1529, at Hereford Cathedral<sup>h</sup>.

2. Emblems, &c., relating to our Blessed Lord.

a. A figure of our Lord occurs on brasses at Etwell, Derbyshire, 1512; Sibson, Leicestershire, 1532, (seated on a rainbow); Mereworth, Kent, 1542; and Heston, Middx., c. 1580: the last is a demi-figure.

β. A representation of the adoration of the shepherds, on a small plate executed in the sixteenth century, remains (?) at Cobham, Surrey.

γ. The instruments of the Crucifixion, the five wounds, &c. These may be seen on shields in brasses at St. Cross, Hants., 1382; Halling, c. 1470 (?), and Cobham, 1506, both in Kent; Edgmond, Shropshire, 1533; King's College, Cambridge, 1528; and Llanbeblig, near Carnarvon, 1500.<sup>i</sup> At Kympton, Hants., on the brass of Robert Thornburgh, 1522, is a small



Emblem of the Holy Trinity.

<sup>h</sup> Demi-figures of the first and second Persons of the Holy Trinity are of common occurrence on morses, &c.

<sup>i</sup> See the engraving infra illustrative of the notary's pemeer and ink-horn.



cross bearing the five wounds; a similar device is held by two ecclesiastics (1468, 1478) in New Coll. Chapel, Oxford: in these last instances the crosses are T shaped, and one of them is without the wounds. At St. Andrew's, Norwich, is the matrix of the brass of Bishop Underwood, Suffragan to the Bishop of Norwich, 1541: the deceased was represented kneeling at a cross with the five wounds, the heart, as usual, being placed in the centre and at the intersection of the arms of the cross. A shield at St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmund's, bears a tau cross, with a scroll inscribed *bonc ihū esto m(θ)ī ̄ihūs.*<sup>k</sup> Crosses were frequently used as the sole or main device on brasses; of these we shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter.

- δ. Representations of the Resurrection. Examples are at Swansea, Glamorganshire, c. 1500; Hedgerley, Bucks., c. 1500, (palimpsest); Great Coates, Lincolnshire, 1503; All Hallows' Barking, London, c. 1540; Slaugham, Sussex, 1547; and Narburgh, Norfolk, 1556. In all these our Blessed Lord is depicted stepping out of His tomb, holding the banner of the cross, and surrounded by the astonished soldiers. On brasses at the following churches He is represented simply as rising

<sup>k</sup> The tau cross, transfixed by three nails, occurs on a tomb-stone at Hulne Abbey, Northumberland, engraved in the Arch. Journ., vol. x. p. 171. A sepulchral slab at Southwell Minster, about two feet square, has a cross incised at each angle of the slab, and on a scroll in the centre is the following inscription, in black letter:—*Hic jacet Willms Talbot miser et indignus Sacerdos expectans resurrectionem mortuorum s' b signo ihau.* Ibid., vol. xiv. p. 76. Gerard Legh, in his "Accedens of Armory," Lond., 1576, fol. 35, says, "This cross is the token of peace. For the prophet Ezechiell sayeth, God sayde to hys Aungell, passe thorowe the myddest of the cite of Iherusalem, and make the signe of Taue, vpon the foreheades of menne. Kill not all them vpon whome ye shall see the letter Taue." In Ezekiel (chap. ix. ver. 4) the Hebrew is literally a 'Thau' or 'mark.' See Poole's Synopsis, in which there is a quotation from Tertullian

(contra Marcion, iii. 22), "*Haec*" inquit "*est littera Gracorum Tau, nostra autem T, species crucis.*" Tertull. Op. Rigaltii, Paris, 1775, p. 410. The early Fathers gathered "both the name of Jesus and the cross of Christ from the 318 servants of Abraham. *Ἰῶτα δέκα, Ἔστα δεκά, ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν*" ὅτι δὲ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ T, ἐμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν λέγει καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίουσ: δηλοῖ οὖν τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυοῖν γράμμασι, καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ τὸν σταυρὸν. Barnabas, Epist. cap. 9. As if I H stood for Jesus, and T for the cross." So also St. Ambrose, Clemens Alexandrinus, and St. Augustine; the two latter also recognise a sign of the cross in the number 300, expressed in Greek by the letter tau, as in the length of the ark, &c. See Bp. Pearson's Expos. of the Creed, notes on Art. IV. ed. Oxford, 1833, vol. ii. pp. 260, 261. In "Notes and Queries," 2nd Ser., vol. vi. p. 459, is an article shewing the tau to be a sign of the Hebrew nation.

from His tomb : Stoke Charity, Hants., 1482 ; Macclesfield, Cheshire, 1506 ; Burwell, Camb., c. 1510 ; Stoke Lyne, Oxon., 1535<sup>1</sup>.

- ε. The Holy Lamb with cross and banner occurs at Merton Coll. Chapel (see supra, p. lxxxiii.), and, very appropriately, in the head of pastoral staves, as at St. Alban's Abbey, c. 1360.
- ζ. The Pelican in her piety is the finial of the canopy of a fine brass at Warbleton, Sussex, 1436<sup>m</sup>.
- η. The Sacred Monogram  $\text{IHS}$  or  $\text{IHS}$ , i. e.  $\text{I}\text{H}[\Sigma\text{O}\text{T}]$ , is frequently met with on the orphreys and morses of copes, ecclesiastical wafers, &c., and sometimes as an ornament of a lady's head-dress, (Iselham, Cambridgeshire, 1484), or of the scabbard of a knight's sword, (Dorchester, Oxon., 1411).

3. Angels and Seraphim with six wings, as on the fine brasses at Balsham, Cambridgeshire. Ministering Angels are often found supporting the pillows beneath the head of effigies of the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth century ; e. g., on the Flemish brasses, and those at Rothwell, Northants., 1361 ; Hever, Kent, 1419 ; and Little Easton, Essex, 1483. They are supposed to have reference to the angels found sitting in the sepulchre, after our Lord's Resurrection, (St. John xx. 12 ; St. Mark xvi. 5), or to signify the transmission of the soul of the deceased to Heaven.

4. Figures of Saints, often holding books in their hands, and with their respective emblems, are common. They usually form part of the canopies over figures, or the ornaments of the orphreys of copes. The following are the most frequent :—

- a. The Blessed Virgin with the Infant, or Crucified, Saviour : the former is commonly seen on brasses of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries, also in the fourteenth century at Cobham, Kent, 1395 ; the latter occurs at Carshalton, Surrey, 1497 ; All Hallows' Barking, c. 1535 ; and St. Patrick's, Dublin, 1537. The Annunciation is occasionally found ; a fine example is the upper portion of the brass of John Porter, 1524<sup>n</sup>, formerly in Hereford Cathedral : other

<sup>1</sup> There were representations of the Resurrection of our Lord at Gillingham, Kent, on the brass of John Bamme and wife, (Thorpe, Regist. Roff., p. 823) ; and at Cranley, Surrey, on the brass of Robt. Hardyng and wife, 1503. Aubrey's

Surrey, vol. v. p. 85.

<sup>m</sup> See the engraving infra, in the description of canopies of the fifteenth century.

<sup>n</sup> This plate, which is nearly all that is left of the once magnificent brass of

instances are at Fovant, Wilts., 1492; March, Cambridge-shire, 1507; and Cirencester, Gloucestershire, (the brass nearly all lost).

- β. The Apostles, viz. St. Andrew, with a cross saltier; St. Bartholomew, with a knife; St. James the Great, with a pilgrim's staff, wallet, escallop-shell, &c.; St. James the Less, with a fuller's bat, or a saw; St. John, with chalice and serpent; St. Jude, with a boat in his hand, or a club; St. Matthew, with a club, carpenter's square, or money-box; St. Matthias, with a hatchet, battle-axe, or sword; St. Paul, with a sword; St. Peter, with one, or two keys; St. Philip, with a tau cross, a double cross, or a spear; St. Simon, with fishes, and sometimes a saw; St. Thomas, with an arrow, or spear. Figures

of the Twelve Apostles may be seen at Lynn, Norfolk, 1349, and on the orphreys of two priests in the cope, c. 1510, at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and Tattershall, Lincolnshire, both evidently engraved by the same artist. They were also probably on the fine brass at Boston, Lincolnshire, 1398, but two are now lost.

- γ. Other Saints, especially the following: St. John Baptist, bearing the Holy Lamb on a book, (St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, 1529), or his head carried by angels in a charger, (Biggleswade, Beds., 1481); St. Anna instructing the B. V. Mary, (Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, 1400); St. George, as a knight, spearing a dragon, (Elsing, Norfolk, 1347;



Brass of Wm. Complyn and Wife,  
1493, Week, Eants.

Cobham, Kent, 1407); St. Christopher, carrying the Infant Saviour on his shoulder across a river, and leaning on a rude staff, occurs on brasses at Morley, Derbyshire, and singly

a priest holding a chalice, beneath a fine canopy with saints at the sides, is in the possession of J. B. Nichols, Esq. Similar designs may be seen in Dug-

dale's engravings of the brasses formerly in the old Cathedral of St. Paul, London. Another instance was formerly at Wivenhoe, Essex, 1507.

with an inscription at Week, Hants., 1498; St. Catherine, with a sword and wheel; St. Stephen and St. Laurence in deacon's vestments, the former holding three stones, the latter a gridiron<sup>o</sup>.

5. The Evangelistic Emblems. St. Matthew, an angel; St. Mark, a winged lion; St. Luke, a winged ox; St. John, an eagle. These are usually with scrolls, and placed at the corners of the slab, St. John at the upper dexter, and St. Matthew at the upper sinister angle<sup>p</sup>.

6. The Soul of the deceased, on brasses and incised slabs of the fourteenth century (especially on foreign ones, and on these as late as the sixteenth century), is often represented naked, and held in a sheet by a figure of Abraham. Examples occur over all the figures of the large canopied foreign brasses in England of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in the palimpsest fragment at St. Mawgan, Cornwall, c. 1375, (see the engraving at p. xvi.) At Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1337; Elsing, Norfolk, 1347; and Balsham, Cambridgeshire, 1401, it is being conveyed upwards in the sheet by two angels, and presented to the first and second Persons of the Holy Trinity. On the arch of the canopy at Higham Ferrers is inscribed, *Suscipiat me xpistus qui uocauit me & in sinu abrahe angeli deducant me.*

<sup>o</sup> See the engraving at p. lxx. The following list includes nearly all the other figures of saints which are to be met with on English brasses. Some of them occur without the emblems here assigned to them:—St. Alban, with processional cross and sword; St. Asaph, a bishop; St. Barbara, holding a chalice or tower; St. Blasius, a bishop with a woolcomb; St. Brigitta, with a book and hands extended; St. Edmund, a king with arrows; St. Edward, a king with a sword; St. Ethelbert, a king holding a church; St. Etheldreda, with a pastoral staff or sprouting tree; St. Faith, holding a bundle of rods; St. Gabriel, an angel holding a lily; St. Helena, crowned and with a large cross; St. Hubert, a bishop with a stag having a cross between its horns; St. John the Almoner, holding a loaf; St. Leonard, with a pastoral staff and fetters; St. Margaret, with a cross thrust into a dragon's mouth; St. Maurice, in armour with a sword; St. Mary Magdalen, with long

hair and a pot of ointment; St. Michael, an angel in armour weighing souls; St. Nicholas, a bishop with three naked children in a tub; St. Pancras, with a book and palm-branch, and trampling on a Saracen armed with a sword; St. Paula, a widow with a book; St. Raphael, a bishop; St. Richard, a bishop with a chalice; St. Thomas of Canterbury, an archbishop; St. Wenefrida, an abbess with a book; St. Wilfrid, a bishop. For full catalogues of the emblems of saints, see Arch. Journ., vol. i. p. 53; Pugin's 'Glossary,' 'Hints,' published by the Cambridge Camden Society; and the 'Calendar of the Anglican Church, Illustrated,' (Parkers, Oxford, 1851). Figures of prophets, usually wearing peculiar caps and holding scrolls, may be seen on the foreign brasses.

<sup>p</sup> See the engravings in this volume of brasses at Christ Church, Oxford (p. lxxx.), Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1400, and Warbleton, Sussex, 1436.

The soul and attendant angels, with the addition of an inscription and shield, forms the memorial of Walter Beauchamp, c. 1430, Checkendon, Oxon.<sup>9</sup>

7. Hearts are usually on brasses before the Reformation, and held in the hands: as at Buslingthorp, c. 1310, and Broughton, c. 1370, Lincolnshire; Aldborough, c. 1360<sup>r</sup>, and Brandsburton, 1397, Yorks.; Sheldwich, Kent, 1431; and Great Ormesby, Norfolk, c. 1440. The last example is the half-length figure of a lady holding a heart bearing an inscription, now nearly effaced, but probably as follows:—

Erth my hodye I gibe to the,  
on my soule Ihu haue m'ey<sup>s</sup>.

The hearts are sometimes inscribed with *Arcu*, *Ihu*, or *Ihu Arcu*, as at Graveney, Kent, 1436; All Hallows' Barking, London, 1437; Stifford, Essex, c. 1480; Sawbridgeworth, Herts., 1484; Berkeley, Gloucestershire, 1526; Higham Ferrers, Northants.: or represented bleeding, as at Lillingstone Darrell, Bucks., 1446, and at St. Alban's Abbey on the figure of Robert Beauner, monk, c. 1470, from whose mouth a scroll issues, inscribed, "*Cor mundum crea in me deus,*" (see the engraving on page lxxxvi.) The passage from Job xix. 25, 26, is frequently found in connexion with the heart, the latter being inscribed "*Credo,*" and the scrolls, usually three in number, continuing the text, "*quod Redemptor meus,*" &c. Good examples held by the hands are at Letchworth, Herts., 1475; and Chenies, Bucks., 1510; also over a figure at Fawsley, Northants., 1516. Occasionally the heart, scrolls, and inscription form the entire memorial; as at Margate, Kent, 1433<sup>t</sup>; Wiggenhall St. Mary, c. 1450, Kirby Bedon, c. 1450, Mar-

<sup>9</sup> The same emblem is found on stone effigies, as at Ely Cathedral on the monument of a Bishop formerly in St. Mary's Church, (engraved in *Specimens of Anc. Ch. Plate, Sepulchral Crosses, &c.*, Oxford, 4to. 1843); on canopies of tombs at Beverley Minster, Southfleet, Kent, (both mutilated), and All Saints, Derby (an incised slab), 1400; at the heads of Bp. Northwold, Ely Cathedral, 1254; and Aymer de Valence, Westminster Abbey, 1323; perhaps also at Minster, Sheppy (see *Arch. Journ.*, vol. vi. p. 354), and Hitchenden, Bucks., held in the hands of the figures.

<sup>r</sup> Engraved among the description of

knights of the fourteenth century.

<sup>s</sup> The inscription is given according to a reading suggested to the Author by the Rev. E. S. Taylor, Curate of Ormesby. In the engraving in Cotman's *Norfolk Brasses*, vol. i. pl. 66, the inscription is omitted. For a work of such pretensions the plates are sadly inaccurate, the shading of the figures, for instance, being systematically omitted.

<sup>t</sup> Engraved at the end of this Introduction. The inscription runs thus: *Hic iacet dñs Thomas Emph quondā bicari' isti' ecclie qui obiit l'cia die Octobris Ao dñi M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>o</sup>xxiij<sup>o</sup> sui' aie pñciat' deus Amen.*

tham, 1487, Ranworth, c. 1530, Trunch, Merton (matrices), all in Norfolk. Sometimes the heart is held by two hands issuing from clouds; as at Loddon, Norfolk, 1462; Elmstead, Essex, c. 1530; Caversfield, Bucks., 1533 (?); and Southacre, Norfolk, c. 1450, where the heart, now mutilated, bore the text (Ps. xxxi. 5), *En ma[nus tuas] dñe cōmē[do spiritum] meū, re[demisti] me d[ñe] deus veritatis*. It is said that such memorials indicate that the deceased was enabled to perform a vow which he had made; but more probably they have different meanings, according to the inscriptions attached to them<sup>u</sup>, and are generally intended to indicate a sincere trust in the promises of God. Those held in the hands seem to embody the ancient invitatory, “*Sursum corda.*”

As the heart was often buried in a different church from that in which the body of the deceased (especially if he died in a foreign country) was laid, some of the brasses which have been just described are probably placed over such interments. This was certainly the case with the memorial of Sir Robert Kervill, at Wiggenhall St. Mary, Norfolk; it consisted of a heart surrounded by four scrolls, inscribed, *Orate pro aīa dñi Roberti—[Kerville Milit]is de Wygenhale—filij Edmundi kerville de—[Wygenhale, cuius cor hic humatur]*.<sup>x</sup> The brass of Dame Anne Muston, 1496, at Saltwood, Kent, is an angel issuing from clouds and holding a heart; beneath is an inscription commencing, ‘*Here lieth the bowell of Dame Anne Muston.*’ A very late instance of the same practice, probably engraved c. 1630, may be seen at Wedmore,

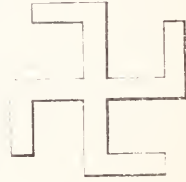
<sup>u</sup> See *infra*, the engraving of the brass of Dr. Sperehawke, 1474, Hitchin, Herts., illustrative of the use of the rebus.

<sup>x</sup> See Blomfield’s *Norfolk*, vol. iv. p. 180, and Boutell’s *Chr. Monuments*, p. 112. In the wall of the chancel of Cuberley Church, Gloucestershire, is a small half-length effigy, in stone, of a knight in mail holding a heart. The following extract from Nash’s *Hist. of Worcestershire*, (vol. ii. p. 143,) clearly relates to this monument: “*Dominus Gilbertus de Berkeley legavit corpus suum sepeliendum in ecclesia Parve Malvern, viz. in cancello ejusdem loci coram imagine Sti Egidii et confessoris et corpus suum sepeliri in cancella Sti Egidii de Cuberlege circa an. 1294 [e Reg. Giff. 382. b.]*” In the “*Corrections and Additions*” to the same volume (p. 79), is a notice of a monument with a heart at Burford,

Shropshire, to Edmond Cornwayle, Esq., “*who travelling to know forraigne countries died at Coleune the xiv. yeer of Henry VI. and willed his servants to bury his body there, and to enclose his heart in lead & carry it to Burford to be buried.*” Similar instances are afforded by the monuments at Winchester Cathedral to Bp. Ethelmar de Valence, who died at Paris 1261 (a half effigy), and at Mereworth, Kent, to Sir Thos. Neville, 1535, whose body was buried at Berling. The former is engraved in Boutell’s *Chr. Monuments*, p. 118, the latter in Drummond’s *Noble British Families*. The Mereworth monument consists of two hands holding a heart. Two similar memorials, at Chichester Cathedral, and Bredon, Worcestershire, are engraved in Mr. Boutell’s work, pp. 113, 114.

Somerset, on a mural brass consisting of an inscription between two standards, and above it a heart inscribed, ‘*Wounded not Vanquisht,*’ and surrounded by laurels: it commemorates Captain Thomas Hodges, “who at the seige of ANTWERPE about 1583 with unconquerd courage wonne two Ensignes from the ENEMY; where receiuing his last wound he gaue three legacyes, his sonle to his LORD IESVS, his body to be lodgd in Flemish earth, his heart to be sent to his deare wife in England.”

8. The Fylfot, a kind of cross potent rebated, or cross cramponé. “It appears to have been celebrated as a religious emblem or symbol at a very remote period, being known in India and China ten centuries previous to the Christian era, and called in the Sanskrit *swastica*; it was used by a sect styling themselves ‘doctors of reason and followers of the mystic cross.’ Subsequently it was adopted by the votaries of Buddha<sup>y</sup>,” who, c. B.C. 600, founded a religious, or rather philosophical, sect in opposition to the worship of Brahma; and it is met with on most of the Buddhist coins and inscriptions from various parts of India. In Thibet it is said to have been used as a representation of ‘God crucified for the human race,’ and it was introduced into Christian monuments as early as the third century, being found in some early paintings of that date in the Roman catacombs<sup>z</sup>. It occurs on runic obelisks at Carew and Nevern<sup>a</sup>, on a coin of Æthelred, King of Northumbria, 840—848<sup>b</sup>, and was a frequent ornament of the apparels of ecclesiastical vestments, belts, &c., in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; after which date it is very rarely to be met with. An instance as late as 1454 is at Chartham, Kent, and it also ornamented the amice of Abbot Stoke, 1451, at St. Alban’s Abbey<sup>c</sup>.



9. Roses were also used as religious emblems. Two of considerable interest remain, but have been removed from their original

<sup>y</sup> Waller’s Brasses, pt. x. It is not unfrequent on Chinese ware and bronzes.

<sup>z</sup> Pugin’s Glossary of Eccles. Ornament and Costume, voc. Fylfot.

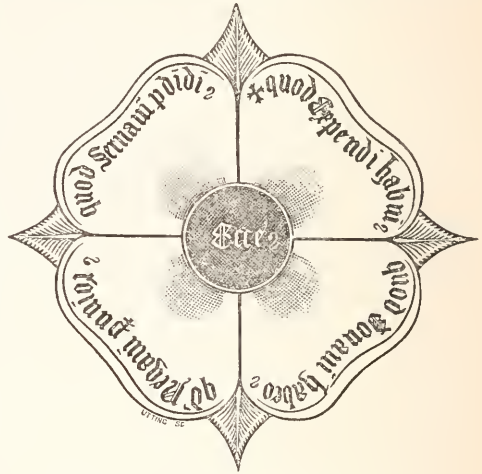
<sup>a</sup> Engraved in the Archæol. Journ., vol. iii. p. 71. In these monuments it may have been employed simply as an ornament without any religious import, just as it is found on patterns of Grecian

vases and Roman tessellated pavements: it was used as a mason’s mark on a Roman altar found at Risingham. See an article in the Archæologia, vol. xxx. fig. 157.

<sup>b</sup> Hawkins’ Silver Coins of England, pl. ix. no. 119.

<sup>c</sup> The head, now lost, is engraved in Gough’s Sep. Mon., vol. ii. pl. lxi. p. 168.

positions. One was under the effigy (now lost) of a priest, c. 1410, at St. Peter's, near St. Alban's, and is preserved in the Gough Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The other, with an inscription in memory of John Killyngworth, 1412, was originally at Edlesborough, Bucks.; it was afterwards removed to Pightlesthorne Church, in the same county, and is now in the chapel of Ashridge House, Herts. Both these have this inscription engraved upon them, "Ecce quod expendi habui, quod donabi habeo, quod negabi punior, quod scribabi peridi." That at St. Alban's has also an English translation<sup>d</sup>. These two roses are no doubt emblematical of the transitory nature of the life of man, who "flourisheth as a flower of the field." The same reflection is expressed in an inscription on a brass at Bisham, Berks., 1581:—



Rose from a brass, 1410, now at Ashridge House, Herts.

Et Rosa mane viget, tamen et mox vespere languet,  
Sic modo qui fuimus, pulvis et umbra sumus.

So also on the brass of John Marshall, canon, 1446, formerly at Lincoln Cathedral:—

At rosa pallescit, cum solem sentit abesse;  
Sic homo banescit; nunc est, nunc desinit esse<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> An impression from the original plate is given in Gough's Sep. Mon., vol. ii. pt. 1, p. ccxxxv. The English version is as follows: 'Lo al þat eu' E spēt þat sū t'me had E, Al þat E ʒaf i gōd rīft þat nōw haue E, þat neþ' ʒaf ne fēt þat nōw abie E, þat E kepe til E wēt þat lost þ.' See, too, the account (infra) of the inscriptions of the fifteenth century. Gough (loc. cit.) also mentions the incidents of similar roses at St. Alban's Abbey, and Croyland Church, Lincolnshire.

<sup>e</sup> See Lincoln Cathedral; an exact Copy of all the Ancient Monumental Inscrip-

tions there, as they stood in MDCXLI, collected by Robert Sanderson, S.T.P., &c., London and Lincoln, 1851, p. 33, No. 120. The ancient Greeks and Romans were accustomed to use roses ("nimium brevis flores amēnos rosæ," Hor. Od., ii. 3, l. 13, 14) not only at their feasts, but also to adorn the graves of the dead. See Weever's Fun. Mon., p. 13, where there is this quotation from the 'Rosa' of Jo. Passeratius:—

*Manibus est imis Rosa grata et grata  
Sepulchris,  
Et Rosa flos florum.*



Roses are frequently subordinate ornaments of brasses: at Ely Cathedral, 1554, they bear the evangelistic symbols; at Littleton, Middx., c. 1460, the words  $\text{Ἰἡ} - \text{Ἰ} \eta \text{ῶ}$ ; at Ashford, Kent, c. 1490, an angel holding an inscription is encircled by a wreath with roses sprouting from it. In the canopy of the brass of Abbot Kirton, 1460, at Westminster Abbey, (now lost,) was a rose inscribed  $\text{Ἰ} \text{ἡ} \text{ῶ}$ : its centre bore the monogram  $\text{Ἰ} \eta \text{ῶ}$  with a crown over it, and round it were the words, "*Sis rosa flos florum morbis medicina reorum* f." The rose is here evidently an emblem of the Blessed Virgin, and it may have some allusion to the rose of Jericho or St. Mary<sup>g</sup>.

10. Emblems of mortality, as bones and skulls strewed on the ground, are occasionally found on brasses, as at St. Mary Tower Church, Ipswich, c. 1475; St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich, 1525; Waterpery, Oxon., 1527, (see the engraving on p. xlix.)

Weever also refers to the 51st Ode of Anacreon in praise of the rose:—

*τὸδε καὶ νόστιμον ἀρκεῖ,  
τὸδε καὶ νεκροῖς ἀμύνη.*

<sup>f</sup> Engraved in Gough's Sep. Mon., vol. ii. pt. iii. pl. 81, p. 210.

<sup>g</sup> "Anastatica Hierochuntina, the Rose of Jericho, or Holy Rose, ... This plant long preserves the power of expansion when immersed in water, hence many wonderful stories are told of its influence. It is called Kaf Maryan, or Mary's Flower, in Palestine, where it is believed that this plant opened at the time of the birth of our Saviour." Knight's English Cyclopædia. M. F. de Sauley in his Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea and in the Bible Lands in 1850, 1851, ed. 1854, vol. i. pp. 512, 513, gives an account of the same or a similar plant: "On this plain [S.W. of the Dead Sea], which scarcely exhibits a blade of grass, I perceive from my saddle a kind of flower, having some resemblance to a large, dried, Easterdaisy (Pâquerette); it is quite open, well displayed upon the soil, and looks as if it was alive... In the evening... I was quite surprised to find the dead flowers closed up, and as dry and hard as if they were made of wood. I then recognised a small flower, with a long tap-root, which I had never seen alive... What prevented me from ascertaining this identity at first was, that one sample was gathered in a state of moisture, while the other was picked up perfectly dry. It was

then quite clear that this ligneous and exceedingly tough vegetable possessed peculiar properties, which developed themselves hygrometrically with the corresponding changes of the soil and atmosphere. I immediately tried the experiment, and discovered that the Kaf-Maryam, the Rose of Jericho of the pilgrims (*Anastatica hierichuntica*), so celebrated for the same faculty, was not to be compared to my recent discovery. A Kaf-Maryam, placed in water, takes an hour and a-half before it is entirely open; whilst in the case of my little flower, I watched it visibly expanding, and, without exaggeration, the change was complete in less than three minutes. I then recollected the heraldic bearing called the Rose of Jericho, which is emblazoned on some escutcheons, dating from the time of the Crusades; and I became convinced that I had discovered the real Rose of Jericho, long lost sight of after the fall of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and replaced by the Anastatica, or Kaf-Maryam, which a Mussulman tradition, accepted by Christians, pointed out to the piety of the early pilgrims, who inquired from the inhabitants of the country what was the plant of the plain of Jericho that never died, and came to life again as soon as it was dipped in water... My friend the Abbé Michon has undertaken to describe this curious plant, and has paid me the compliment of naming it *Sauleya hierichuntica*."

The placing of two bones crosswise, as seen on the last-mentioned brass, probably originated from the crossing of the arms on the breast in skeleton effigies. Figures of Death, usually with darts pointed at his victim, occur on brasses after the latter part of the sixteenth century. An earlier instance is at Biggleswade, Beds., 1481: in this, Death, holding a spear, is represented as engaged in conversation with a kneeling figure of the deceased, now lost; below is an inscription, in which the two parts of the dialogue are distinguished by the letters being alternately incised and in relief<sup>h</sup>. These devices appear to have been introduced into England from the Continent.

II. Heraldic. The armorial bearings of the deceased are on shields, either let into the corners of the slab, or suspended on the canopy: or on the dresses of the figures, and sometimes on the pommel of the knight's sword. When their proper colours were given, which was generally the case, *Or* was represented by the brass being left projecting, and probably gilt; *Argent* and *Ermine* by a white mixed metal, and the other tinctures by coloured resinous compositions<sup>i</sup>. These were melted and poured into cavities in the brass prepared by hatching or scoring for their reception. Few traces of the colouring matter now remain, owing to the expansion and contraction of the brass, and defacement by footsteps. Mural brasses, and those on altar tombs, from their colouring material being less liable to injury, afford the most numerous instances of this kind of decoration. Examples occur at Broxbourne, 1473, and Standon, 1477, Herts.; Lambourne, Berks., c. 1480; Sprowston, Norfolk, 1559, &c.

Knights had frequently their armorial bearings displayed on the various dresses which they wore over their armour<sup>k</sup>. The principal

<sup>h</sup> A similar arrangement is on an inscription at Balsham, Cambridgeshire, 1462.

<sup>i</sup> In some early brasses, enamel was used; see *supra*, p. xii. All the incised lines of brasses were filled up with a kind of pitch, to bring out the design. Pitch or mastic was also used for fastening them to their slabs. The modern method of expressing the tinctures by lines and dots may perhaps be seen on a

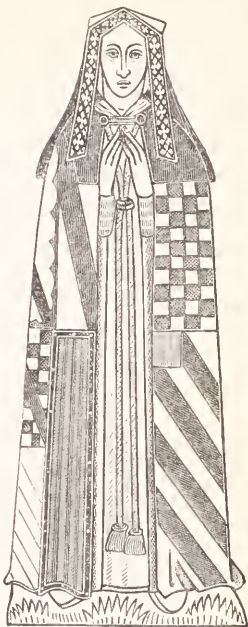
shield as early as 1599, at Penshurst, Kent.

<sup>k</sup> See the engravings of knights from Chartham, Kent, 1306; Aldborough, Yorks., c. 1300; Southacre, Norfolk, 1384; and Quy, Cambridgeshire, c. 1465, in the description of the armour of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Good examples of military effigies in tabards are at Great Snoring, Norfolk, 1423; Amberley, Sussex, 1424; Childrey,

of these was the tabard, introduced on brasses about the beginning of the fifteenth century, and always covered with armorial bearings. The heraldic charge was very rarely engraven on the armour itself, as at Sefton, Lancashire, where the cuirass of Sir William Molyneux, 1548, is ornamented with a cross moline.

Ladies often bore arms on their dresses, usually those of their husbands on their mantles or cloaks, and their own on their kirtles or gowns, as at Cardington, Beds., c. 1530; but after the fifteenth century their own are more frequently on the sinister side of the mantle, their husbands' bearings occupying the dexter. The brass of Elizabeth Knevet, 1518, at Eastington, Gloucestershire, is a good example of a lady in an heraldic mantle<sup>1</sup>.

Crests and badges within wreaths on the helmets beneath the head of knights are common, as at Great St. Helen's, London, 1510<sup>m</sup>. They are also occasionally placed



Elizabeth Knevet, 1518,  
Eastington, Gloucestershire.

beneath the feet; e. g. a bear muzzled, Iselham, Cambridge, 1451; an elephant, Tong, Salop, 1467; a whelk, Wollaton, Notts., 1467<sup>(?)</sup>; a boar, Sawley, Derbyshire, 1467, 1478; an elephant and castle,

Berks., 1444; Lowick, Northants., 1467; St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, 1475; Winwick, Lancashire, 1492; Ashby St. Legers, Northants., 1494; Ketteringham, Norfolk, 1499; Impington, Camb., 1500; Milton, near Sittingbourne, Kent, c. 1500; Ormskirk, Lancashire, c. 1500; Olveston, Gloucestershire, 1505; Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1506; Aspedon, Herts., 1507; Swinbrook, Oxon., 1510; Wilne, Derbyshire, 1513; Fawsley, Northants., 1516; Merton, Norfolk, 1520; Tidmarsh, Berks., c. 1520; Wrotham, Kent, 1525; Chesterfield, Derbyshire, 1529<sup>(?)</sup>; Fairford, Gloucestershire, 1534; Thame, Oxon., 1539; Faringdon, Berks., 1547; Little Horkesley, Essex, 1549; Beckenham, Kent, 1552; Hainton, Lincolnshire, 1553; Loddon, Norfolk, 1561;

Strensham, Worcestershire, 1562, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The arms on the lady's mantle are quarterly of six: 1. Knevet, 2. Cromwell, 3. Tatershall, 4. Cayley, or Clifton quartering Cayley? 5. —? 6. —? At the following places are good brasses with single figures of ladies in heraldic mantles: Enfield, Middx., 1446; Stoke, 1452 (c. 1535), Long Melford, c. 1480, Suffolk; Lambeth, Surrey, 1535; Great St. Helen's, Bishopgate-street, London, c. 1535; Wivenhoe, Essex, 1537. Several of the brasses mentioned in the last note have figures of ladies in heraldic mantles beside their husbands.

<sup>m</sup> Engraved at the end of the description of military brasses of the fifteenth century.

Wivenhoe, Essex, 1507, &c. Occasionally a badge was engraved on the dress; thus a swan or pelican is embroidered on the collar of Lady Peryent, 1415, at Digswell, Herts.<sup>n</sup>; a pelican collared and chained, and on its nest, is on the circular plate in front of the shoulder of an armed figure, c. 1430, of one of the Warren family, at St. Michael's, Lewes, Sussex. Sometimes the slab in which the brass was inlaid was powdered or sprinkled with badges, as at Biggleswade, Beds., 1481, (crescents and escallops); Westminster Abbey, 1471, (water bougets); or the words of the inscription were divided by them, as at Wixford, Warwickshire, 1411 (feet). The brass of Sir William Calthorp, 1420, at Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, has in the spandrils of the canopy the badge of the family, "a hawk belled and jessed, on a mount, holding a scroll in his beak, with the motto *penser de tuncr.*" The orphrey of the cope on the brass of Robert Langeton, a kinsman of Bishop Stafford, 1413, at Exeter Cathedral, is ornamented with the Stafford knot. In the same cathedral is the fine but much defaced brass of Sir Peter Courtenay, 1409, with his badge, a falcon pecking at a duck or smaller bird<sup>o</sup>, placed at the angles of the border inscription.

<sup>n</sup> See *infra*, the engraving illustrative of ladies' head-dresses at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

<sup>o</sup> This device occasioned a quarrel between Sir Peter and a Scottish knight, Sir William Dalzell. The latter "chancing to be at the court, he there saw Sir Piers Courtenay, an English knight, renowned for his skill in justing as well as for the beauty of his person. He was with much vanity parading the palace, arrayed in a new mantle, bearing for device an embroidered falcon with this rhyme:—

'I beare a falcon, fairest of flight,  
Who so pinches at her, his death is dight.  
In graith.'

The Scottish knight appeared next day in a dress exactly similar to that of Courtenay, but bearing a magpie instead of the falcon, with a motto ingeniously contrived to rhyme to the vaunting inscription of Sir Piers:—

'I beare a pie picking at a piece,  
Who so picks at her, I shall pick at his nose  
(i. e. nose).

In faith.'

This affront could only be expiated by a *just à outrance*, that is, with sharp lances. In the course, Dalzell left his

helmet unlaced, so that it gave way at the touch of his antagonist's lance, and he thus avoided the shock of the encounter. This happened twice. In the third encounter the handsome Courtney lost two of his front teeth. As the Englishman complained bitterly of Dalzell's fraud in not fastening his helmet, the Scottishman agreed to run six courses more, each champion staking in the hand of the king two hundred pounds, to be forfeited if, on entering the lists, any unequal advantage should be detected. This being agreed to, the wily Scot demanded that Sir Piers, in addition to the loss of his teeth, should consent to the extinction of one of his eyes, he himself having lost an eye at the fight of Otterburn. As Courtenay demurred, Dalzell demanded the forfeit, which, after much altercation, the king appointed to be paid to him, saying, He surpassed the English both in wit and valour." Bower, quoted by Sir Walter Scott in *Meyrick's Ancient Armour*, vol. ii. pp. 64, 65. Sir Walter explains 'In graith' as 'in armour,' perhaps it means 'speedily.' In 1393, "Cookborne, Esquire of Scotland, challenged Sir Nicholas Haw-

Mottoes are rarely met with on brasses: instances occur at Great Tew, Oxon., c. 1410, 'In on is al<sup>p</sup>;' at Lowic, 'Da gloriam Deo,' and at Newnham, 'God send gud ende,' both of the date 1467, and in Northants.; at Sawston, Cambridgeshire, c. 1480, 'A dew en Blayne;' at All Saints, Stamford, Lincolnshire, 1489, 'Christ me spede;' formerly at Netley Abbey, c. 1500, 'So have I cause,' entwined round the Compton badge, a fire-beacon; at Broxbourne, Herts., 1531, 'Espoier en dieu,' 'I trust in God;' at West Malling, Kent, c. 1535, 'Foyes Toute,' &c.

Canting, or allusive, arms are very common, as might be expected from the fondness for punning in the middle ages; a practice which has been noticed in the account of the inscriptions on brasses. As an instance may be mentioned the arms of Thos. Salle, Esq., 1422, Stevington, Beds., two salamanders saliant in saltire.

It was customary for those who had held office under the sovereign, or were in his favour and confidence, to adopt the royal arms or badges on their tombs<sup>q</sup>; it may not therefore be irrelevant to the subject before us, to notice briefly some examples which are to be found on brasses.

Edward the Third was the first English monarch who employed the quartering of arms. He bore Azure, semée of fleur-de-lys or, France; quartering Gules, three lions passant guardant or, England. The former arms he assumed in 1340, having three years before taken the title of King of France. His figure on the brass at Elsing, Norfolk, 1347, exhibits these arms<sup>r</sup>.

Richard the Second bore the same arms, impaled occasionally with those attributed to St. Edward the Confessor, Azure, a cross patonce between five martlets or. These arms may be seen on the brasses of Abp. Waldeby, 1397, Westminster Abbey, and Sir Simon de Felbrigge, 1416, Felbrigg, Norfolk. On the latter brass, the white

berke, Knight, [whose brass is at Cobham, Kent,] and rode five courses, but Cookborne was borne over horse and man." *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>p</sup> On the brass of Geoffrey Pedde, 1408, formerly at Great Grimsby, Lincolnshire, was a scroll over the head of the figure, inscribed, 'In God is all gooth Pdde.' Gough's Collections for Lincolnshire, No. 11, p. 8, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>q</sup> e. g., at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire,

1400; Twickenham, Middlesex (Rich. Burton, royal cook), 1443; Sawbridge-worth, Herts., 1433, 1484.

<sup>r</sup> They are also on the brass of John Sleaford (1401, Balsham, Camb.), impaling Hainault for Queen Philippa, to whom Sleaford was chaplain. It was a common practice for priests to have the arms of their patrons on their brasses; as at Flamstead, Herts., and Middle Claydon, Bucks.

hart, the badge of Richard II., also occurs; and it still remains, together with the *planta genista*, on the fragment of the brass of Sir John Golafré, 1396, at Westminster Abbey.

In the first half of the fifteenth century the Collar of SS. frequently appears on the monuments of distinguished persons of both sexes\*. It was a badge of the house of Lancaster, and Henry IV. was the first sovereign who granted it to the nobility. It is worn by Sir Thos. Burton, 1351, at Little Casterton, Rutland; but the execution of this brass is probably thirty years later†. The wearing of this collar was restricted, in the reign of Henry VIII., to persons who were not below the grade of knight. It is rarely, if ever, found on brasses so late as this sovereign. Instances at the end of the fifteenth century are at Apsley Guise, Bedfordshire, and Little Bentley, Essex.



Collar of SS. Sir John Drayton, 1471.  
Dorchester, Oxon.

Henry V. was the first of our kings who bore France modern, Azure, three fleur-de-lys or; the number of fleur-de-lys having been reduced by Charles VI. of France.

The Collar of Suns and Roses, the badge of Edward IV., occurs on brasses at Broxbourne, Herts., 1473; Rougham, Norfolk, c. 1470; Sawley, Derbyshire, 1478; St. Alban's, 1480; Little Easton, Essex, 1483; Lillingstone Lovell, Oxon., 1471‡, &c.



Collar of Suns and Roses.  
Countess of Essex 1483.  
Little Easton, Essex.

The Portcullis, a badge of the Beauforts and adopted by the Tudors, is attached to SS. collars of knights at Muggington, Derbyshire, c. 1475, and Little Bentley, Essex, 1490; and without the SS. collar, at Hutton, Somerset, 1528.

Besides the above collars, others of a more simple kind were worn. Those represented on brasses are usually either plain, or ornamented with stars, quatrefoils, &c., as at Taplow, Bucks., 1455. The effigy of Thomas Lord Berkeley, 1417 (1392), Wotton-under-

\* It is worn by Lady Delamare, 1435, at Hereford Cathedral, but not by her husband; also by Robert de Haitfield, attired as a civilian, and his wife, 1409, Owston, Yorks. The origin and meaning of the collar of SS. are very obscure. The usual explanation is that it is a repetition of the initial letter of Henry the

Fourth's favourite motto, 'Sovereigne,' borne by him while Earl of Derby, and retained at his accession as being of good omen. Mr. J. G. Nichols has suggested that it was the initial of the great office of Seneschallus or Steward of England enjoyed by John of Gaunt.

† See p. xlv.

Edge, Gloucestershire, exhibits a collar of mermaids, a cognizance of the Berkeleys. In the sixteenth century chain collars were used by every officer of the royal household who in virtue of his office ranked as an Esquire. The figures of Robert Rochester, serjeant of the pantry, 1514, Great St. Helen's, and William Thinne, 1546, All Hallows' Barking, London, are thus adorned. On brasses, however, these collars are not always added. On those of the reign of Henry VIII. gold chains are often worn round the neck. The wearing of them was limited to those who could afford to spend £200 a-year<sup>u</sup>.

Five brasses only remain of knights belonging to the order of the Garter: Sir Peter Courtenay, 1409, much defaced, Exeter Cathedral, Sir Simon de Felbrigg, 1416, Felbrigg, Norfolk, and Sir Thomas Camoys, 1424, Trotton, Sussex, who wear the garter simply; Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, 1483, Little Easton, Essex, who has also the mantle; and Sir Thomas Bullen, 1538, Hever, who is attired in the full insignia of the order. The effigy of Thomas de Woodstock, 1397, formerly at Westminster Abbey, resembled the last, but was not in armour<sup>x</sup>.

Members of the various merchant-companies and guilds have the arms of their respective societies on their brasses; and they often bore them quartered with their merchants' marks, as on the brass of John Terri, 1524, at St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich; practices which were viewed with much jealousy by the heralds. To complete this part of the subject, it is necessary to give the names of the chief companies and their armorial bearings.

The Merchants of the Staple of Calais, the most important company of foreign merchants, were incorporated by Edward III. after the capture of Calais<sup>y</sup>. Their arms were, Barry nebulée of six

<sup>u</sup> Cotman, *Norf. Brasses*, p. xviii.

<sup>x</sup> His curious brass is engraved in Sandford's *Genealogical History of England*, p. 230.

<sup>y</sup> In 1353 the staple was "regulated by statute [27 Edw. III. st. 2]. The five great or staple commodities of the kingdom were wool, woollfells, leather, lead, and tin, and these were allowed to be dealt in for exportation only by a corporation called the merchants of the staple, and in certain specified towns, where they were disposed of to foreigners.

The corporation had its own laws and officers, and was exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary magistrates. Attempting to carry the merchandise of the staple to other than the appointed ports was strictly forbidden, and it was even made felony for any but the authorized merchants to deal in the staple goods." "The staple towns were London, Bristol, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, Lincoln, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Norwich, and York; Caernarthen in Wales; and Dublin, Cork, Drogheda, and Waterford

argent and azure, on a chief gules, a lion passant guardant or. Examples, Standon, Herts., 1477; Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1526; St. Andrew's Undershaft, London, c. 1570.

The Merchant-Adventurers, or Hamburgh Merchants, to whom Edward I. granted a charter in 1296, were next in importance. They bore Barry nebulée of six argent and azure, a chief quarterly gules and or, on the first and fourth quarters, a lion passant guardant of the fourth; on the second and third, two roses of the third, barbed vert. Examples are common, e.g., Wooburn, Bucks., c. 1520; St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich, 1524; Faversham, 1533, and Stone, 1574, Kent.

There were several other merchant companies, but their arms are hardly ever to be met with on brasses<sup>2</sup>. It may be noticed, however, that those of the later companies, of the Levant, Russia, and East India merchants, are on the brass of John Eldred, the celebrated navigator, 1632, at Great Saxham, Suffolk. The arms of the last-mentioned company are also on the brass of William Doggett, 1610, at Boxford, Suffolk.

The arms of several of the great London companies are of frequent occurrence on brasses: the following are the twelve which are called the principal.

The Mercers' Company, incorporated in 1394, was the chief. Their arms were, Gules, a demi-virgin couped below the shoulders, issuing from clouds, all proper, vested or, crowned with an eastern crown of the last, her hair dishevelled, and wreathed round the temples with roses of the second, all within an orle of clouds proper. Examples are very common; e.g. Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1504; St. Mary Tower Church, Ipswich, 1506; Much Hadham, Herts., 1582.

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in Ireland; and often Middleburgh in Zealand, and Calais; but the staple was several times removed from the latter towns in consequence of war." *Annals of England*, 1855, vol. i. pp. 389, 390. The following towns also appear to have had a staple: Boston, Hull, Queenborough, Winchester, and Yarmouth. Considerable revenue accrued to the sovereign from the duty imposed upon the export of the staple goods. The word staple, as applied to a town, may be derived from *stapel*, which, in the Saxon or old

English language, signifies the stay or hold of anything, "or from the French word *estape*, id est, *forum vinarium*, because to those places whither our English merchants brought their commodities, the French would also meete them with theirs, which most of all consisteth in wines." Weever's *Fun. Mon.*, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> The brass of Drew Saunders, Gent., 1579, at Hillingdon, Middx., designates him as belonging to "the right wourshipfull compaignye of merchauntes of the Estaple of England."



The Grocers, incorporated in 1346, had arms granted them in 1531; Argent, a chevron gules, between nine cloves sable. Examples: Finchley, Middx., 1610; North Walsham, Norfolk, 1625.

The Drapers, founded in 1332, were incorporated in 1364. The arms, granted to them in 1439, were, Azure, three clouds radiated proper, each adorned with a triple crown or. These are not unfrequent on brasses; instances are at Stone, Kent, 1574, and Walthamstow, Essex, to Sir Geo. Monox, Lord Mayor in 1514, who died 1543.

The Fishmongers were a very ancient body, consisting of two companies, the Stock and the Salt fishmongers. The arms of the former were, Azure, two lucies in saltire argent, with coronets over their mouths or: those of the latter, Azure, on a chief gules, three pair of keys, indorsed in saltier or: they occur at Wooburn, Bucks., c. 1520, and were formerly at Bisham, Berks., 1517. These arms were combined when the two companies were finally united in 1534.

The Goldsmiths were also a very ancient company: they were incorporated in 1327, and bore Gules, a leopard's head or, quartered with azure, a covered cup between two buckles of the second. These are not unfrequently met with, as at Sandon, c. 1510, and Upminster, Essex; Thorpe, Surrey, 1583; Datchet, Bucks., 1593; Ufford, Suffolk, 1598; St. Martin-le-Grand, York, 1614, &c.

The Merchant-Tailors, incorporated in 1466, and again in 1503, bore Argent, a royal tent between two parliament robes gules, lined ermine, the tent garnished or, tent-staff and pennon of the last; on a chief azure, a lion passant guardant or. These may be seen on brasses at St. Martin Outwich, London, 1500; Luton, Beds., 1524; Standon, Herts., 1557; Dunstable, Beds., 1640.

The Skinners, incorporated in 1327, and confirmed in 1395, had these arms: Ermine, on a chief gules three princes' crowns composed of crosses pattée and fleur-de-lys or, with caps of the first tasselled of the third.

The Haberdashers' Company obtained its charter in 1447. The arms granted them in 1571 were, Barry nebulée of six argent and azure, on a bend gules a lion passant guardant or. Examples: St. Andrew's Undershaft, London, c. 1570; Feversham, Kent, c. 1580; South Mimms, Middx.

The Salters, chartered in 1364, were incorporated in 1530, when they had these arms granted to them: Per chevron azure and gules,

three sprinkling salts argent. They are on a brass at All Hallows' Barking, London, c. 1535.

The Ironmongers, incorporated in 1462, bore Argent, on a chevron gules three swivels or, (the middle one paleways, the other two with the line of the chevron,) between three steel gads azure.

The Vintners, chartered in 1365, incorporated in 1437, bore Sable, a chevron between three tuns argent.

The Clothworkers, incorporated in 1482, confirmed in 1528, had these arms granted to them in 1530: Sable, a chevron ermine between two habicks in chief argent, and a tezel in base slipped or.

The arms of other companies are occasionally found, as those of the Brewers, (Gules, on a chevron argent, between three pair of barley garbs in saltier or, three tuns sable, hooped of the third,) on a brass at All Hallows' Barking, London, 1592; the Stationers, on the brass of John Day the printer, 1584, at Little Bradley, Suffolk.

Sometimes the arms of cities, especially those of London and Bristol, are placed on the brasses of merchants and others who had held civil offices in them. The latter city ranked next to London, and had several incorporated companies; its arms are Gules, a castle on a hill by the sea side, and a stern of a ship under full sail passing by, all proper. These may be seen on mural brasses at Walthamstow, Essex, 1543; Burnett, Somerset, 1575, &c. The arms of London are on brasses at Walthamstow, Essex, 1543; Faversham, Kent, c. 1580; Much Hadham, Herts., 1582; Finchley, Middx., 1610; Great Saxham, Suffolk, 1632, &c.: those of Faversham, Kent, in its parish church, 1533; those of Coventry, in St. Michael's Church, c. 1600; those of Norwich, at St. John's Maddermarket, 1524; those of York, in Holy Cross Church, in their respective cities.

Shields are frequently found accompanied with an inscription only; good examples of which are at All Hallows' Barking, c. 1380 (an inscription surrounding a shield), and Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1411<sup>a</sup>. An early instance of this kind was a curious brass lately at Stanton Harcourt, Oxon., consisting of a shield bearing the arms of Harcourt and Beke dimidiated, and let into a circular stone about two feet in diameter. This has been supposed to commemorate Sir John Harcourt, 1330, but it more probably is the memorial of his

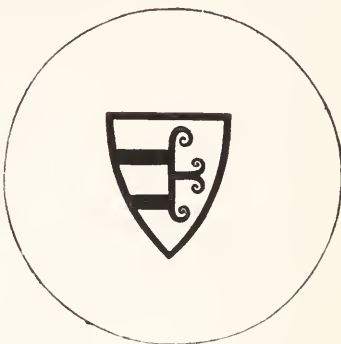
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<sup>a</sup> The shield is now lost; the original charge was, Or, a lion ramp. gu. Felbrigg.

father Sir Richard, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Beke, of Eresby, Lincolnshire, and died 1293. The circular stone



Brass of George Felbriigg. Esq.,  
1411, Felbriigg, Norfolk.



Shield, Stanton Harcourt, Oxon.

in which the brass is inlaid is probably intended for a millstone, and to form a kind of rebus with the arms of Beke, a cross *moline*.

### III. Professional, or personal devices which are not heraldic.

The most important that may be included under this head are those which have reference to some particular incident in the life of the person commemorated; such as the engraving placed under the principal figures on the brass of Robert Braunche and wives, 1364, at St. Margaret's, Lynn, Norfolk, and supposed by Mr. Gough to represent "some grand anniversary celebrated in this wealthy town, perhaps the feast of St. Margaret their patroness, or the fair day granted them by King John, or perhaps the mayor's feast, when Mr. Braunche held that office, in 1349 or 1359<sup>b</sup>." At a long table, covered with dishes, drinking vessels, &c., are seated nine men and three women. The first figure on the left is made prominent by a more ornamented cap and richer dress than the rest; a man, in defensive armour only and kneeling on one knee, places near him on the table a peacock in a dish. At the same end of the table stand

<sup>b</sup> Gough's Sep. Mon., vol. i. p. 115, where there is also an account of the "peacock feasts," and the ancient and distinguished family of Braunche. See also Cotman's Norf. Brasses, vol. i. pp.

4, 5, where it is suggested that the feast alluded to may have been given by Braunche to Edward III. and his court, when they visited Lynn in 1344.

five figures; two are musicians, one playing on the violin, the other on the guitar, and three are females, the first bringing another peacock. At the right end of the table stand four figures, the first a female presenting a peacock to the man who sits at that end, the other three musicians blowing trumpets.

The winning of a suit by Bishop Wyvill is commemorated on his brass at Salisbury Cathedral, 1375: a castle, intended for that of Sherborne<sup>c</sup>, with its keep and outer ward, is here represented, about which the Bishop had a dispute with William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. In the centre under an arch appears a half-length figure of the Bishop in episcopal vestments; beneath this figure, without the door of the outer ward, stands his champion ready to maintain his cause by judicial combat, attired in a close leathern coat or 'jack,' with his breeches, hose, and shoes all of one piece: in his right hand he holds his double-pointed baton, or croc, technically called 'fustis cornutus,' in his left a shield<sup>d</sup>. The ground in front of the castle is covered with trees and a rabbit warren, and is perhaps intended for the chase of De la Bere, which the Bishop also recovered to the church of Salisbury.

The two standards captured by Sir William Molyneux at Floddenfield were represented on his brass at Sefton, Lancashire; one only, that of the Earl of Huntley, now remains. Similarly, two ensigus won from the enemy by Captain Thomas Hodges, at the siege of Antwerp, 1583, are portrayed on his brass at Wedmore, Somerset. The feat of agility exhibited by John Selwyn before Queen Elizabeth, and depicted on his brass at Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, 1587, has been already described (at page xxxiv.); the charity of Thomas Mountague, who, on his brass at Winkfield, Berks., 1630,

<sup>c</sup> The castle of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, had been seized by King Stephen in 1134; in 1258 it was delivered to Stephen Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, and in 1337 Edward III. granted it to Wm. Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and Catherine his wife, for his services against Mortimer. In 1355 the Bishop brought a writ against him. "The claims of the respective parties were so complicated, that it was thought impossible to determine them by legal issue, and they were consequently referred to single combat. At the time appointed,

the bishop brought his champion to the lists, clothed in white, with his lordship's arms on his surcoat. The earl's champion was habited in the same manner. Both were preparing to engage, when an order was brought from the king to defer the dispute to another day. In the meantime matters were compromised, the earl ceding the castle to the bishop and his successors on payment of 2,500 marks." Meyrick's *Anc. Armour*, vol. ii. p. 43.

<sup>d</sup> See Carter's *Anc. Sculpt. and Paint.*, p. 120.

is represented as giving away loaves to the poor; and the crutch placed beside the figure of William Palmer "wyth ye Stylyt," at Ingoldmels, Lincolnshire, 1520, are similar instances.

The figures of founders of churches, &c., bear churches in miniature, as at Cobham, Kent, c. 1365; North Creak, Norfolk, c. 1500; and Cowthorpe, Yorks., 1494. There is the matrix of a brass at Tormarton, Gloucestershire, to Sir John de la Rivière, c. 1350, representing him within a floriated cross, and holding a church: (see the engraving on the next page<sup>e</sup>).

The memorials of Bishops and Abbots sometimes consisted simply of a pastoral staff and an inscription, of which the tombstone at Dorchester, Oxon., of Abbot Sutton, 1349, now stripped of its brass, is an instance: (see the engraving at page lvii.) On the Continent similar examples were frequent<sup>f</sup>.

After the Reformation a mitre was substituted for the pastoral-staff, as at Wells Cathedral, 1626; Bredon, Worcestershire, 1650; Westminster Abbey, 1661.

The effigy at Ely Cathedral, of Bishop Goodrich, Keeper of the Great Seal, 1554, holds a Bible and a great seal in his right hand.

Priests sometimes hold chalices in their hands, usually with the eucharistic wafer placed upright over them: (see engravings at pages xlvi., lxiv.) Two instances remain, one at Walton-on-Trent, Derbyshire, c. 1500, the other in private possession, c. 1520, in

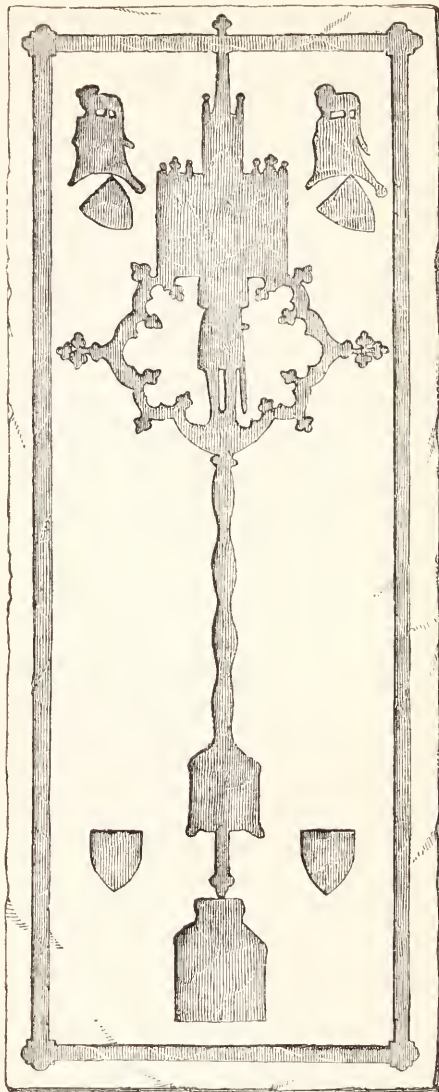


An Ecclesiastic (?), c. 1500,  
North Creak, Norfolk.

<sup>e</sup> In the lower part of the stem of the cross a modern inscription has been inserted. See also the account of the brass at Verden, *supra*, p. xiii. note p.

<sup>f</sup> The custom of carving pastoral-staves, chalices, swords, bows, implements of work or trade beside the crosses on the stone coffin-lids of the twelfth and following centuries, doubtless gave rise to their adoption on brasses. Several instances of such memorials are given in Mr. Cutts' *Mannal of Monumental Slabs*, and Mr. Boutell's *Christian Monuments*. At pages 52, 53 in the latter work, are

engravings of matrices from Thornton Abbey, and Ainderby, Yorkshire, similar to that at Dorchester. The slab at Ainderby is also engraved in Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. i. p. 260; at p. 334 in the same work is an engraving of a coffin-lid at Middleham, having a crozier sculptured on it. Two monuments of the same kind still remain at Flaxley Abbey, Gloucestershire, one of them is engraved in Mr. Bontell's *Chr. Mon.*, p. 55, and in "*Specimens of Ancient Church Plate*," &c.



Matrix of the brass of Sir John de la Rivière, c. 1350,  
Tormarton, Gloucestershire.

which the priest is represented as blessing the chalice and wafer <sup>g</sup>. The chalice was sometimes placed beside the figure, as at Aldbourne, Wilts., 1508, and Blockley, Worcestershire, 1488 <sup>h</sup>. In the sixteenth century chalices were found accompanied by an inscription only: examples are frequent in Norfolk, as at Attlebridge, Old Buckenham, Buxton, Catfield, Colney, Hedenham, North Walsham, &c.; at Holwell, Beds.; Shorne, Kent; Gazeley, Suffolk. These kind of brasses seem to have originated in Yorkshire, in which county are the earliest examples: at Bishop's Burton, 1460; St. Michael's, Spurriergate, York, 1466; and St. Peter's, Leeds, 1469 <sup>i</sup>. The brass of Wm. Richers, Vicar, at Bawburgh, Norfolk, 1531, is a good instance of these memorials; the chalice and wafer are supported by two hands (the thumbs only being visible) issuing from clouds. Books were often represented as held by priests, especially after the Reformation, as at Coleshill, Warwickshire, 1566; Salisbury Cathedral, 1578. Earlier examples are at Adderley, Salop, c. 1390; Beeford, Yorks., 1472; and Carlisle Cathedral, 1496.



Chalice, Bawburgh,  
Norfolk, 1531.

Students of Law also have books in their hands: instances are at Iselham, Cambridgeshire, 1574, and Great Bookham, Surrey, 1668. Judges sometimes hold scrolls, e. g., at Norbury, Derbyshire, 1538; Harefield, Middx., 1544; Aston, Warwickshire, 1545.

Knights have no peculiar devices besides their arms, unless we are to consider the lions and dogs beneath their feet as emblematical of the virtues of courage, generosity, and fidelity indispensable to their profession <sup>j</sup>. One or two little dogs are often at the feet of ladies; they are probably intended for some favourite animal, as they are often represented fawning on their mistresses, as at Harpham, Yorks., 1418; Arundel, Sussex, 1430; Bigbury, Devon,

<sup>g</sup> A third instance was on the brass of John Cave, 1471, Stanford, Leicestershire, engraved in Nichols's Leicestershire, vol. iv. pl. 52, p. 356. This attitude appears to have been common on incised slabs.

<sup>h</sup> See p. xxiv.

<sup>i</sup> Matrices of chalices are at St. Michael's Coslany, Norwich; Worstead, Hingham, and Carbrooke, in Norfolk; St. Peter's, Cambridge; St. Margaret's,

Rochester, &c.

<sup>j</sup> The idea of placing a helmet beneath the head of the knight, and his faithful dog reposing at his feet, may have been suggested by the soldier's actual practice when on military service. The recumbent posture of sculptured effigies rendered some supports to the head and feet indispensable, and these accessories were naturally reproduced in early brasses, although not needed.



John Borrell, 1331,  
Broxbourne, Herts.°

c. 1460; Raveningham, Norfolk, 1483, &c.<sup>k</sup>; and two instances have been noticed in which the name has been added: *Terri*, at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, and *takte*, on a fine brass formerly at Ingham, Norfolk, 1438<sup>l</sup>. Lions are rarely found at the feet of ecclesiastics, civilians, or ladies; instances of each respectively may be seen at Herne, c. 1450, Gravney, 1436, Kent; Childrey, Berks., 1444. At the feet of a lady, c. 1410, at St. Stephen's, Norwich, are two beggars, or friars, scated, and holding crutches and beads<sup>m</sup>, an arrangement which is not uncommon on stone effigies.

Sir Simon de Felbrigg, 1416, Felbrigg, Norfolk, who was "vexillarius" to Richard the Second, supports a banner with the royal arms<sup>n</sup>.

Serjeants-at-arms bore maces surmounted with crowns: in an example, much defaced, remaining at Wandsworth, Surrey, 1420, the

<sup>k</sup> Beneath the figure of the lady (Margaret Castyll) is also a dragon, probably intended as an emblem of the saint after whom the lady was named. See Cotman's Brasses, vol. i. p. 24.

<sup>l</sup> Engraved in Cotman's Brasses, vol. i. pl. xxii. p. 19, from an impression preserved in the British Museum. In this instance the dog is beneath one of the feet of the knight, and is evidently intended for a portrait, as is perhaps the case at Strelly, Notts., 1487. A dog, on which rest the feet of a sculptured effigy of one of the Reynes family, at Clifton Reynes, Bucks., bears its name BO on its collar, the date is probably the end of the fourteenth century. See Arch. Journ., vol. xi. p. 154. Perhaps these examples may explain the reason of the introduction of horses' heads at the feet of effigies of knights at Minster, Isle of Sheppy, and at Exeter Cathedral.

<sup>m</sup> See the engraving *infra*, in the account of the costume of ladies at the beginning of the fifteenth century. These figures have reference to the funeral obsequies of the deceased. In the will of

John Lord Scrope, of Upsal, dated 1451, in the Test. Vetusta, p. 271, are these directions: "I desire that at my funeral my corpse be carried by my sons and servants, being then at my house, to the said Chapel, twenty-four poor men clothed in white gowns and hoods, each of them having a new set of wooden beads, walking before it, and I will that these poor men stand, sit, or kneel, in the aisle before the entrance to that Chapel, saying their prayers, as well at the dirige as at the mass, and that each of them receive *vid.* for their pains." Similar directions are contained in the will of Sir Robt. Swyngton, proved in 1379: "Item volo quod sex pauperes vestiantur in russet et sedeant ad orandum circa corpus meum quousque sepeliatur." Test. Ebor., p. 107, No. lxxx.

<sup>n</sup> The figure of Elizabeth de Ferrers, Countess of Athol, 1375, at Ashford, Kent, held in her hands two banners with the arms of Valoyns. The arms of the figure and the shafts of the banners are now lost.

<sup>o</sup> This engraving has been made from



mace is suspended at the right side of the effigy. The curious figure of John Borrell, Serjeant-at-arms to Henry the Eighth, 1531, formerly at Broxbourne, Herts., held a mace in his hand. At Shopland, Essex, is a brass to Thomas Staple, Serjeant-at-arms, 1371: the mace is not visible, but may be concealed, as the lower part of the figure is, under a pew.



Robert Rampston, 1585, formerly at Chingford, Essex.

Crown-keepers, or Yeomen of the Crown, bore on their left shoulders a crown, which under the Tudor sovereigns surmounted a rose. Four examples have been noticed: Edward, son of Roger Kyngdon, on his father's brass at Quethioc, Cornwall, 1471; a small figure, c. 1480, now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, from which the annexed engraving has been made; James Tornay, 1519, Slapton, Bucks.; and Thomas Noke, 1567, Shottesbrooke, Berks.<sup>p</sup>: the second only of these is in armour.



Crown-keeper's Badge, from a brass at the Society of Antiquaries.

Yeomen of the Guard were first instituted by King Henry the Seventh. Two or three instances of their costume may be seen on brasses at East Wickham, Kent, William Payn, 1568; Winkfield, Berks., Thomas Mountague (holding a halberd), 1630; and perhaps at Aston, Herts., John Kent, servant to King Edward the Fourth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, 1592. All these wear doublets having a rose and crown embroidered on the breast, and the rest of their costume resembling that in the engraving of Robert Rampston<sup>q</sup>, Gentleman, 1585, lately at Chingford, Essex.

a rubbing of the original, kindly lent to the author by J. B. Nichols, Esq.

<sup>p</sup> See the illustration of civilian costume in the sixteenth century.

<sup>q</sup> The same dress, with slight alterations, is still worn by the Yeomen of the Guard. The figure in brass of John Whytte, Gent., "one of the quene's majesty's ordinary footman" (*sic*), 1579,

formerly in Greenwich old church, was represented "with trunk breeches, doublet embroidered, and garters with knots, a chain of gold over his right shoulder, coming down under his left side, and a rose and crown with the queen's supporters on his breast, and slit sleeves, short hair, and a trimmed beard." Thorpe's Registrum Roffense,

But few brasses remain of persons distinguished by any other official badges. At Stopham, Sussex, Richard Bertlot, Esq., 1478, wears a collar and holds a small baton in his hand, indicative of his having been marshal of the household to the Earl of Arundel. Hugh de Gunby, 1411, Supervisor (?) of Lord Cromwell, at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, has a short scarf tied in front of his breast. A small kneeling figure of a civilian, c. 1535, now in private possession, supports a long official staff<sup>r</sup>. John Boswell, Esquire, Bedel of the faculty of Arts in the University of Oxford, was represented on his brass, formerly at Hallows Church, in that city, as holding a bedel's staff<sup>s</sup>.

Persons belonging to various professions and trades had occasionally the implements or other tokens of their occupation engraved on their brasses. This was especially the case with notaries, who have penners, or pencases, and ink-horns suspended at their girdles. Two instances, of the dates 1475 and 1506, are at St. Mary Tower Church, Ipswich; the earlier one is a large and fine specimen: others are at Great Chart, Kent, c. 1470; New College Chapel, Oxford, c. 1510. The penner and inkhorn are visible on the curious brass of Richard Foxwist, c. 1500, Llanbeblig, Carnarvonshire<sup>t</sup>.

Woolmen and their wives have often wool-packs beneath their feet, as at All Hallows' Barking, London, 1437; Chipping Norton,



Robert Wymbyll, Notary, 1506.  
St. Mary Tower Ch., Ipswich.

p. 957. In Gregory King's visitation for Hunts., 1684, is a record of a brass to Thos. Lynde, Yeoman of the Crown. See a communication from Mr. Bruce to the Society of Antiquaries, March 1st, 1849. In Maitland's Hist. of London, ed. 1769, vol. ii. p. 1158, is a notice of a brass of a Clarendieu King-of-Arms, supposed to be John Arundell, 1427: "In the middle Isle of St. Olave's, Hart Street, upon a flat stone inlaid with Brass, the Figure of a King of Arms in his Coat and Crown."

<sup>r</sup> This brass was purchased by the Rev. E. Knollys, of Quedgely, Gloucestershire, from a dealer in London, who pretended it came from the tomb of

St. Remi in France. In the same way the brasses now at Cassiobury House, Herts., were asserted to be from Beauvais. In both instances the brasses have clearly been stolen from English churches.

<sup>s</sup> See Rawlinson's MS., No. 397, p. 11, in the Bodleian Library; and Harleian MS., No. 6,365, p. 3, in the British Museum. John Boswell died in 1501.

<sup>t</sup> At Necton, Norfolk, there was a brass of a notary, Wm. Curteys, and his wife, 1499: the inscription still remains, but the effigy of the former has disappeared since Cotman's time; that of the wife is in the possession of J. B. Nichols, Esq. At Hempstead, Essex, is

Oxfordshire, 1451<sup>u</sup>; and sometimes a sheep in addition, as on the brasses at Northleach, Gloucestershire. William Scors, tailor, 1420,



Richard Foxwist, 1600, Llanbeblig, Carnarvonshire\*

in the same church, stands on a pair of shears; another example may be seen in a mural brass, 1587, at Cirencester, Gloucestershire. In this church are also fine but much mutilated figures of a vintner, or wine-merchant, and his wife, c. 1400, with wine-casks beneath their feet. The figure of Simon Seman, vintner and alderman of London, 1433, on his brass at Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire, stands on two wine-casks. At Fletching, Sussex, a pair of gloves and inscription, c. 1450, is the simple memorial of Peter Denot, glover. A shield, on which was engraven a pair of gloves, was placed over the figures (now lost) of John Atkyn, glover, and widow, 1449, at St. Peter's, St. Alban's. Thomas Cotes, "Porter at Ascott Hall," 1648, on his brass at Wing, Bucks., has a porter's staff and key. At St. John's, Margate, Kent, a man-of-war in full sail is the device of Roger Morris, "sometime one of the 6 principall Masters of attendance of his Majesties Navye Royall," 1615.

At Baldock, Herts., is the upper part of a figure, c. 1420, attired as a hunter, with a horn suspended at his right side, a short sword with two small knives sheathed in a scabbard, and a hank of cord dependent from his girdle, to which is also attached a leash or strap apparently fastened to a hound once beneath the feet. The in-

a civilian, c. 1475, with an appendage to his girdle, perhaps intended for a pence. See also the engraving of the brass of Thos. Heron, *supra*, p. lxxxv. In the Cathedral, Oxford, is an altar-tomb with the matrix of a brass, probably that of a notary.

<sup>u</sup> See the engraving of John Yonge,

in the account of civilian costume in the fifteenth century.

\* For the use of this cut, which originally appeared in the *Arch. Journ.*, vol. vi. p. 414, the author is indebted to the kindness of A. W. Franks, Esq., of the British Museum.

scription is now lost<sup>y</sup>, but it probably commemorated a hunter or park-keeper, as the figure of Gilbert Gilpyn, "quondam Parcarii de Woking Parke," 1500, formerly at Working, Surrey, was similarly equipped<sup>z</sup>. John Selwyn, gentleman keeper of her Majesty's park at Otelands, 1587, and James Gray, park-keeper, 1591, at Hunsdon, Herts., are attired as foresters, with hunting-horns worn as that at Baldock. At Bexley, Kent, is a brass consisting of a hunting-horn with its baudric encircling a shield, intended perhaps as the monument of a hunter, or else indicating that the deceased held lands by "cornage tenure." This was probably the reason for a hunting horn (of which the indent only now remains) having been placed between the figures of two ecclesiastics, brothers, at Dronfield, Derbyshire, 1399<sup>a</sup>.

Merchants' marks, with initials, are of frequent occurrence on brasses, from the earliest



Hunter? c 1400. Baldock, Herts.

<sup>y</sup> It is possible that this is the monument of Wm. Fynter, Gent., and wife, 1416, whose inscription is preserved by Weever, *Fun. Mon.*, p. 545.

<sup>z</sup> "In the nave of the church, on a brass-plate, is the figure of a man in a gown with wide sleeves, bearing in a Baudry a Bugle-Horn about his neck, and a hanger by his side, and a Hound at his Feet." *Aubrey's Surrey*, vol. iii. p. 219. Within the memory of the clerk at Annesley, Notts., there was a memorial to Wm. Breton, 1595, remaining in the church: it is thus described in Cole's MSS. (No. xxxi. p. 223), "A brass of a Forester, with Hound following him, in his left hand a bow, in his right an arrow, with three arrows sticking in his belt." In the churchyard of Newland, in the Forest of Dean, is a sculptured effigy in stone of a Forester, Jon or Jenkyn Wyrall, 1457. Incised slabs, with effigies wearing hunting-horns, are at Skegby, Notts., and Steeple Langford Wilts., engraved respectively in Thoroton's Notts., vol. ii. p. 302, and *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xv. p. 75; the latter slab is only 2 ft. 2 in. long.

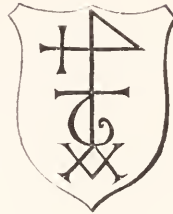
<sup>a</sup> Chauncy (*History of Hertfordshire*,

p. 261) and Weever (*Fun. Mon.*, p. 543) mention an inscription at St. Nicholas's, Hertford, to Richard Pynere, "quondam Botelere cum Regina Anglie," 1419, with a flagon and a cup in brass upon the gravestone. An engraving of the indents may be seen in Gough's *Sep. Mon.*, vol. ii. pl. 1, p. 316. Weever (*Fun. Mon.*, p. 536) also thus describes the monument at Hackney, of Alice Ryder, 1517, "Her portraiture is in brasse with a milke pale upon her head." The brass of Wm. Henshawe, Bell-founder, 1519, at St. Michael's, Gloucester, had the device of a bell and melting-pot on three legs, which has now disappeared. At St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, is an incised stone to Wm. Coke, "quondam servitii Willmi Canynges," with a knife and skimmer cut on it. Mr. Boutell, in his *Chr. Mon.*, gives engravings of several stone slabs with crosses, and the following marks of trade in connexion with them: Gloves, at St. John's, Chester (p. 96); Horns, at Bowes, Yorks. (p. 36), Bakewell, Derbyshire (p. 72); Bow and Arrow, Bakewell (p. 98); Melting-pot and Bell, St. Dyonis, York (p. 100).

times downwards. They present many different forms, several of them being variations of an early device resembling a cross with



Merchant's Mark of John Pergett,  
Chipping Norton, Oxon., 1484.



Merchant's Mark of Thomas Pownder,  
St. Mary's Quay, Ipswich, 525.

two short legs, and a streamer attached to the shaft. This sort of mark is common on the brasses of woolmen, and was perhaps adopted by them from the cross and banner borne by the "Agnus Dei."

Rebuses are found on brasses<sup>b</sup>: as at Bray, Berks., 1378, a fox for Foxley; at Boston, Lincolnshire, 1398, peascods, arranged so as to form the letter W, for Walter Pescod; at Broadwater, Sussex, 1432, M and a maple leaf for Mapilton; at Hitchin, Herts., 1474, a sparrow-hawk perched on a hawking-pole for Sperehawke, and

<sup>b</sup> According to Camden (Remains, quoted in Weever's Fun. Mon., p. 277), the rebus or name-device was introduced into England from France. The use of this device in connection with monumental remains is very ancient, as it is found in the Catacombs at Rome. Several instances are given in "The Church in the Catacombs," by Chas. Maitland, M.D., ed. 1847, pp. 225, 226, as a ship "signum nabe" for Navira, a dragon for Dracontius, two casks for Doliens, a little pig for Porcella. "For unlettered persons another method of representation [besides the inscription] was necessary; and the symbols, though they imperfectly supplied the deficiency, were the only substitutes known. This view is forced upon us by the existence of phonetic signs: such as the ass on the tomb of Onager, and the lion on that of Leo; an idea so strange, and to our taste so bordering upon caricature, that

it can only be explained by the necessity for some characteristic mark of the deceased, intelligible to his non-reading relations. The friends of Leo, searching for his tomb, discover the sculptured lion: the most ignorant knows enough to read Leo." *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 200. Besides the employment of the rebus, several other curious resemblances may be discovered between the ancient monuments of the Catacombs and the English incised memorials of the middle ages: as the adaptation of old pagan grave-stones to Christian monuments, (Maitland, p. 61); the mixture of two languages in the inscriptions, (*Ibid.*, p. 17); the use of religious emblems, especially a hand issuing from clouds to represent the Deity, (p. 320); the symbols of trade, as a saw and adze for a carpenter (p. 221), a pair of shoes for a shoemaker, &c.

1498, two hearts for Hert; at Strelly, Notts., 1487, stars for



Strelly; at St. Mary's, Oxford, 1507, four tuns engraved on the arms of a cross for Croston; at Redburn, Herts., 1512, a peacock for Pecok; at Holwell, Beds., 1515, two wild men, or wood-houses, for Wodehowse; at Feversham, Kent, 1533, COL and a well for Colwell. At Preston, Kent, William Mareys, Esq., 1459, stands in a conventional representation of a marsh, or morass, termed in old English a mareis, or mareys, (*Gall. marais*). John Stockton, 1480, formerly at Hereford Cathedral, stands on a tun<sup>c</sup>.



Dr. John Sperehewke, 1474, formerly at Hitchin, Herts.<sup>d</sup>

Initials are frequently inscribed, especially on the orphreys of copes: as at Winchester College, R. T. for Robert Thurbern, 1450, (see the engraving at page lxxvi.); and New College, 1403, and 1494. On the cope of Thomas Pattesle, Great Shelford, Camb., 1411, the whole name was written.

Monograms are comparatively

<sup>c</sup> This figure is now in the possession of J. B. Nichols, Esq. The brass of Robert Langton, 1518, at Queen's Coll., Oxford (see supra, p lxii. note r), had at the corners circular plates, on each of which was engraved a tun, with the letters R above and L below it. Henry Edyal, or Ea. le, 1503, described in his inscription as 'alta petens aquila istae jam conditur aula,' had a brass at East Dereham, Norfolk, of which a shield, bearing a bird resembling a duck, but no doubt intended for an eagle, alone remains. At St. Patrick's, Dublin, on the brass of Geoffrey Fyche (Finch?), 1537, is a shield engraved with a tree on which three finches (?) are perched. Between the

figures of John Cok and wife, c. 1480, at Wormley, Herts., is a small plate with trees and animals, one of them apparently a cock, and intended for a rebus. See also the account of the shield at Stanton Harecourt, supra, p. cxxi.

<sup>d</sup> The figure, now lost, is copied from a rather imperfect rubbing in the possession of J. B. Nichols, Esq. The border-inscription has also disappeared, and the slab been broken in two; the only portion of the brass remaining is a heart inscribed *ibi*, a scroll above which probably bore part of the text from the Vulgate, "Ubi enim est thesaurus tuus *ibi* est et cor tuum." St. Matt. vi. 2. See also St. Luke xii. 34.

rare: instances are at Loddon, Norfolk, 1462; Fulham, Middx., 1529; and St. Patrick's, Dublin, 1537.

Such are the principal emblems and devices found on the brasses which are extant. It now remains to trace the successive variations in the costume, design, and execution of brasses during the period of their employment for monumental purposes; an enquiry of more interest and importance than the preceding details, but at the same time presenting many more difficulties.

#### FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

ED. I., 1272—1307; ED. II., 1307—1327; ED. III.,  
1327—1377; RICH. II., 1377—1399.

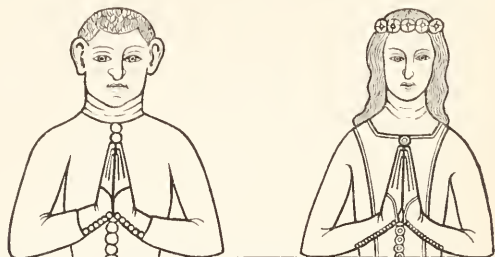
*General Remarks.*—The combined beauty and simplicity which characterize the architecture of the fourteenth century are equally displayed in the monumental brasses of the same date. The elegant curvature of the lines; the skill exhibited in the disposition of the drapery, with its ample and graceful folds, expressed by outline with hardly any shading; the chasteness of ornament; and the freedom and boldness of execution, at once distinguish the works of the period under consideration. The metal was in thicker plates, and of a harder kind, and the lines of the engraving were more deeply cut than in later examples, so that memorials of this century are not unfrequently found in a much better state of preservation than those of the sixteenth or even the seventeenth centuries.

The imitation also of the designs of stone monuments is especially observable in the brasses of this period: the effigies are usually of large size, and in the attitude of repose<sup>e</sup>, with their heads resting on cushions or helmets, and their feet on lions or dogs; they are often made to lean somewhat affectedly on one side. The faces have certain characteristics distinguishing them from later examples; the under lines of the eyes, for instance, are straighter; the expression of the difference between youth and age, especially observable on the

<sup>e</sup> On some of the French incised slabs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries formerly at Paris, the priests were represented as seated, and teaching their

pupils. A brass of this description remains at St. Saviour's, Bruges, and is of the date 1483. See *supra*, p. xix.

brasses of ecclesiastics, appears to have been almost the only attempt that was made towards representing the portrait of the deceased. Half-length figures are common, and their use, at least in many



Raulin brocas & Margarete la soure gilomnt ici  
den pour la grace de leur almes est mien amie

Raulin Brocas and Sister, c. 1360, Sherborne St. John's, Hants.

cases, was not influenced by motives of economy; this is evident from their frequent occurrence in conjunction with crosses and canopies, (Graveney, Kent, c. 1370), and their being placed on altar-tombs, with richly carved stone-work over them; as were formerly the brasses of Bishops Bingham and York (1246, 1256), at Salisbury, and Cantilupe (1282), at Hereford, Cathedrals. Busts, or even heads, accompanied by a brief inscription, were also in use: a good example of the former is at Blickling, Norfolk, c. 1360; a matrix of the latter may be seen in the north transept of St. Alban's Abbey <sup>f</sup>.



Bust, c. 1360, Blickling, Norfolk.

Floriated Crosses of great beauty were much used in this century, as the numerous matrices or indents in our churches still attest <sup>g</sup>;

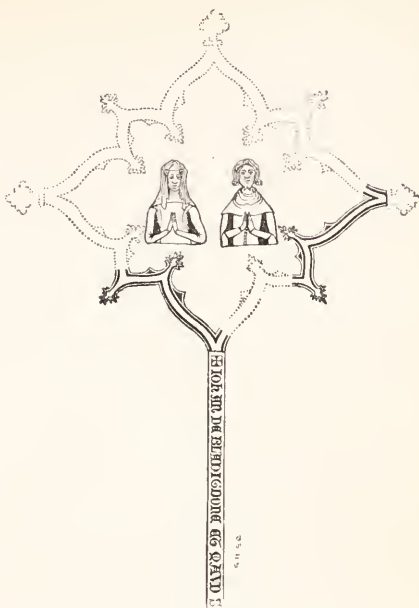
<sup>f</sup> This kind of brasses was evidently suggested by the similar stone effigies previously in use; engravings of several are given in Section II. of Mr. Boutell's Christian Monuments. "Memorials of this kind," writes Mr. Boutell, "in which parts only of the human figure are represented, as the head or bust, or perhaps the feet, derive their origin apparently from the endeavour to combine a monumental effigy with a monumental cross upon the same coffin-lid or sepul-

chral slab. . . The greater portion of the monuments of this class which are known to be in existence are in the churches of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Rutland, and also in some parts of Wales." Chr. Mon., p. 119.

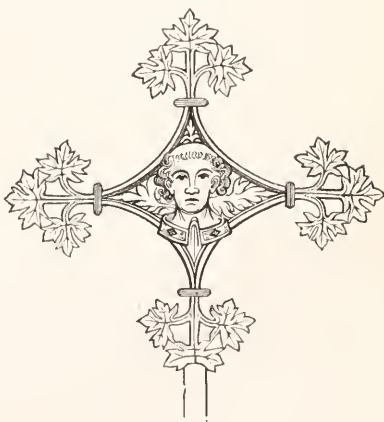
<sup>g</sup> These matrices are generally well worthy of attention, and even of copying, for the sake of the outline. See, for instance, the engraving at p. cxxiv.



of the brasses themselves but few mutilated instances have escaped spoliation. Like the crosses on the coffin-lids of the previous centuries, they formed the chief memorials of ecclesiastics and civilians during the first half of this century; and their destruction is the more to be lamented, as it leaves us but a scarcity of examples of the costume of these classes, and especially of the latter, during this period of our history. The designs usually consisted of a long stem with leaves sprouting from it, resting on steps, or some animal, or religious symbol, and terminating above in a cross with rich finials, and with the bust or head of the deceased placed over it; e. g., matrices at Dorchester and Garsington, Oxon., &c.; or upon it at the intersection of the arms, as at Merton College Chapel, Oxford, c. 1310, and Chinnor, Oxon., c. 1320<sup>h</sup>. Sometimes the head of the cross was a quatrefoiled circle, as at Woodchurch, Kent, c. 1320. A beautiful cross, c. 1380, remains at Grainthorpe, Lincolnshire; the outline of the head somewhat resembles that at Chinnor, but



John de Bladigdone (Blendon) and Wife, c. 1335, East Wickham, Kent.



Cross brass of a Priest, c. 1320, Chinnor, Oxon

<sup>h</sup> The head of a priest, c. 1320, now loose in the parish chest at Ashford

Church, Kent, was probably in the centre of a cross.

has external cusps like those of a canopy; a quatrefoiled circle enclosing a cross forms the centre, and the base of the shaft rests on a rock placed in the sea. Frequently a series of eight ogee arches, foliated, alternately large and small, and surrounding full or half-length figures, forms the head of the cross, of which we have



Nichol de Gore, c.1320, Woodchurch, Kent.

examples, mostly much mutilated, at East Wickham, Kent, c. 1325, (see the engraving at p. cxxxv.); Wimbish, Essex, 1347; Taplow, Bucks., c. 1350; Sparsholt, Berks., c. 1360; Merton Coll. Chapel, Oxford, 1372 (?); Hereford Cathedral, 1393 (?) and c. 1390<sup>i</sup>; Hanbury, Staffordshire, c. 1390 (?); and St. Michael's, St. Alban's, c. 1400. Latin crosses, with the extremities simply foliated, were more rarely used in this century; a matrix of this kind is at Wells Cathedral. Sometimes the figure of a saint, &c., was placed in the head of the cross, as at Hildersham, Cambridgeshire, on the brass of Robert (?), de Paris and wife, 1379, with the Holy Trinity; and at Newton-by-Geddington, Northants., on the brass of John

<sup>i</sup> See the engraving *infra*, p. clxiv. illustrative of the costume of civilians of the fourteenth century.

Mulsho and wife, 1400; the person commemorated was then represented as *kneeling*, either at the base under a small canopy, or at the side of the stem, as in the example just mentioned, and usually with a scroll from his hands.

The custom of placing figures in or above the heads and on the transverse arms of crosses, gave rise to the use of "bracket brasses," in which the form of the cross was usually lost, a bracket supporting two or more figures, generally beneath a small canopy, being substituted for it at the top of the shaft. Examples are common after the middle of the century, as at Great Brington, Northants., c. 1340; North Mimms, Herts., and Clifton Campville, Staffordshire, c. 1360; Brandesburton, Yorks., 1364; West Hanney, Berks., and Harrow, Middx., c. 1370; Boston, Lincolnshire, and Ore, Sussex, c. 1400, all the stems lost<sup>k</sup>. In cross and bracket brasses the figure must be supposed to be standing; but the attitude is often rendered anomalous by lions or dogs, (distinctive marks of recumbent posture,) being placed beneath the feet<sup>l</sup>.

Children are rarely represented on the brasses of their parents; when they are, their figures are placed beside those of their father or mother, and are of equal, or nearly equal, size. Examples are at Graveney, Kent, c. 1370; and at Stoke Fleming, Devon, 1391, John Corp and granddaughter: the latter is raised on a pedestal.

The Canopies in the early part of this century are straight-sided with large finials, crockets, and pinnacles; frequently trefoiled, and springing from the marginal inscription, or from slender shafts with corbels of stiff foliage. That on the brass of Joan de Cobham, c. 1320, Cobham, Kent, is perhaps the only existing example<sup>m</sup>; matrices of others of the same date are not uncommon, e. g. Waltham Abbey, and Pebmarsh, Essex; Gorleston and Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk, c. 1320, &c. But the cinquefoiled ogee canopy soon superseded that just described; the mutilated canopy at Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey, 1327, is the earliest example remaining: a similar one was not long since at Westley Waterless, Camb., 1324. Figures of saints, &c., in niches are occasionally found, as at Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1337; Elsing, Norfolk, 1347; Boston, Lincolnshire,

<sup>k</sup> See the engravings at pp. lxxxiii., exliii.

<sup>l</sup> It is remarkable, however, that in Germany, where the effigies are fre-

quently fixed upright against the walls, the feet are resting on lions or dogs.

<sup>m</sup> Engraved *infra*, in the description of the costume of ladies in this century.

1398, c. 1400 (?), and Westminster Abbey, 1395 (the figures now lost). The magnificent Flemish brasses of this date are very richly ornamented with such figures<sup>n</sup>. The pediments of the canopies have usually large circles in them, and the cusps have trefoil terminations; the spandrils are filled with foliage, and the pinnacles are ornamented with wolves' heads at their bases. Groining is of rare occurrence; good specimens of it may be seen on the brasses at Acton Burnell, Salop, 1382, and Laughton, Lincolnshire, c. 1400<sup>o</sup>. Tracery similar to that of the canopy of Bishop Trellick (see frontispiece<sup>p</sup>), was also a frequent ornament in the pediments of this century, good examples of which may be seen at Fulbourn, Camb., c. 1390, and Watton, Herts., 1361, c. 1350, &c. When the canopies are double or triple, shafts passing between the figures usually support each separate pediment, as on the Flemish brasses, and those at Shottesbrooke, Berks., c. 1370<sup>q</sup>; Harrow, Middx., c. 1370; Fletching, Sussex, c. 1380; Campten, Gloucestershire, 1401.



Nicolas Lord Burnell, 1382, Acton Burnell, Shropshire.

<sup>n</sup> The matrix of the beautiful canopy brass of Abp. Courtenay, 1396, over his grave in the chancel of All Saints', Maidstone, has traces of several figures of saints at the sides and in a row over the head of the effigy. The same arrangement is on the brasses at Higham Ferrers, 1337, and Boston, 1398. There is a cenotaph, with a recumbent effigy of Abp. Courtenay, at Canterbury Cathedral. Compare supra, p. lv. note n.

<sup>o</sup> See the engraving infra, p. clxi.

<sup>p</sup> This canopy is now much mutilated,

but was perfect in Gough's time, from whose engraving the frontispiece has been restored. There was also a small portion of the inscription then remaining, as follows: "Andree festo p'uenuis morte recessit xpc fauens." These injuries were perhaps sustained by the brass when the remains of the Bp. were exhumed in 1813. Bp Trellick founded New Inn Hall, Oxford.

<sup>q</sup> The central shaft is now lost; a very late instance of the above peculiarity is at Ardingley, Sussex, 1504.

Triple canopies over single figures are found only at the end of the century; e. g. at Westminster Abbey, 1395, 1399; Laughton, Lincolnshire, c. 1400.

Devices peculiar, or nearly so, to this century, are the "Fylfot," the representations of the transmission and repose of the soul of the deceased<sup>r</sup>, and the placing of angels with censers in the upper corners of the design, as at Elsing, Norfolk, and Horseheath, Camb. The two last devices are characteristic of foreign monuments, and were retained on foreign incised memorials long after their disappearance on English brasses.

The earliest Inscriptions are in Lombardic or Uncial characters. They were marginal, each letter was of brass, separately inlaid in the stone slab, and the whole inscription was enclosed in fillets of the same metal. This method was soon abandoned, owing, no doubt, to the great liability of these letters to be lost<sup>s</sup>, and the inscriptions were then engraved on broad bands of brass, as at Stoke D'Abernon,



Part of an Inscription, Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey, 1327.

1327<sup>t</sup>. After this date, the black letter in short and thick characters, with Lombardic capitals, became common, and the inscriptions were placed beneath the figures, especially in smaller brasses: see the engraving on p. cxxxiv. from Sherborne St. John's, Hants., c. 1360. The inscriptions of priests were for the most part in Latin, the canonical language; while those of knights and ladies were in Norman-French, which in this century was spoken at court. Both classes of inscriptions were extremely simple: the former, as in the following centuries, commencing "Hic iacet," or more rarely "Orate pro anima," and concluding with "cuius anime propicietur Deus. Amen." The Norman-French inscriptions were usually in this style:—

Adam Rameseye gist pey Dieu de sa alme eit merey Amē.

Richard de Helysdone & Beatrice sa sēme gisont icy dieu de lo' almes eit m'ey amen. qi p' lour almcs p'era . x . aans & . xl . iours de pardoun auera.

<sup>r</sup> See supra, pp. xvi., cvi.

<sup>s</sup> See the engraving of the slab of Sir John D'Aubernoun, *infra*, p. cxlv. Two letters only, out of several inscriptions, remain in Merton Coll. Chapel, Oxford;

three letters and a piece of the border-fillet are left on a slab at Hornchurch, Essex.

<sup>t</sup> The inscription at Trumpington, Camb., 1289, was an early instance.

[De terre fust fait et fourme, Et en] Terre et a terre [suis retourne, Johan de Cobham founder de ceste place qui fut nomme,] Mercey de malme eût la seinte Trinite.

Fous qe passez ley entour Priez pur l'alme le cortays biaundour Qe Johan de Cobham anoit anoun, Dieux luy face ueray pardoun, Qe trepassa lendemayn de seint Mathi, Le puisaunt otric a demorer [oue ly en l'an de] grace Mil CCC. X quatre Ces enemis mortels fist abatre<sup>u</sup>.

The two lines containing the grant of pardon are more rarely found, and the duration of it was various, as vint, trois cent., or more usually quarante jours.

The names are generally Christian names prefixed to the birthplace or residence, as Nicholas de Aumberdene, (Ambrosden, Bucks.): the "de" was dropped at the commencement of the next century. When the date was inserted, which was the exception rather than the rule, it was prefaced by the French inscription "qe morrust," or "trepassa le—jour—lan de grace—." Owing to the shortness of the marginal inscriptions, considerable spaces were left between the words. Towards the close of the century, the following verses, with trifling variations, were introduced into inscriptions; as on brasses at the Temple Church, Bristol, 1396; Caversfield, Bucks., &c. :—

Es testis christe: quod non tacet hic lapis iste  
Corpus ut ornatur: sed spiritus ut memoretur.  
Hinc tu qui trans'is, magnus, medius, puer an sis:  
Pro me funde preces, dabitur michi sic venie spes<sup>x</sup>.

At Mere, Wilts., 1398, &c. :—

Quisquis eris qui transieris, sta, perlege, plora,  
Sum quod eris, fueram que quod es, pro me precor ora<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Chinnor, Oxon., c.1400; Hellesdon, Norfolk, c.1370; Cobham, Kent, c.1360 and 1354. The parts in brackets in the Cobham inscriptions are now lost, but are restored from Gough's Sep. Mon., vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 22, and Lansdown MS., No. 874, fol. 65 b. The third of these inscriptions is similar in style to one at Etchingham, Sussex, 1388; to two at Stokenchurch, Oxon., 1410, and 1412;

and to those formerly at Mereworth, Kent, 1371; Shellingford, Berks., 1372, (Ashmole's Berks., p. 180); and Badsworth, Yorks., (Whitaker's Richmondshire, vol. ii. p. 440).

<sup>x</sup> A translation of part of this is contained in an inscription at Beeston Regis, Norfolk: see Blomfield's Norfolk, vol. viii. p. 89 :—

The yeare of our Lord. M.cccccc.xxxi  
Thomas Symson prist departed, and lyeth under this ston,  
The ix of January alive and also goon.  
Not for an ornament of the body this ston was laid here,  
But only the soul to be prayed for, as charite requere.

<sup>y</sup> On an inscription at Sleaford, Lincolnshire, this line is added :—

Disce qd es et quid eris memor esto qd morier'.

At Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire, c. 1390, &c. :—

*Fermibus hic donor, et sic ostendere conor,  
Quod sicut hic ponor, ponitur omnis honor*.\*

These two last, and the following text from Job xix. 25—27, were universal favourites as late as the sixteenth century; the last verse of the text, however, is very rarely found, it occurs at Newark, Notts., 1361 :—

*Crede quod redemptor meus bibit, et in nobissimo die de terra surrecturus sum, et rursus circumdabor pelle mea, et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum, quem visurus sum ego ipse et oculi mei conspecturi sunt et non alius; reposita est hec spes mea in sinu meo.*

Scrolls, when they occur in this and in the beginning of the next century, issue from the hands of the figures, e. g. Fulbourn, Camb., c. 1390; an early example is on a matrix, c. 1320, at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, in which each letter was separately inlaid in the stone.

The earliest English inscription on brass is probably the following, c. 1370, at Brightwell-Baldwin, Oxon. :—

*Man com & se how schal alle dede be : tocn now comes bad & bare  
Noth hab ben be away fare : All ys ozerinēs yt be for care :  
Bot yt be do for godysluf be haue nothynge yare : Hundyr  
yis graue lps Joh<sup>n</sup> ye smyth god yif his soule heuen grit.*

One other epitaph in the same language has been noticed in this century; at Wanlip, Leicestershire, to Sir Thomas Walsch and lady, 1393.

*Ecclesiastics.* The Priests of this century are generally represented in eucharistic vestments; their brasses present these peculiarities: "Chasubles fitting closely to the body, and evidently of thin materials; drapery judiciously arranged, and represented by a few bold lines; the hair *long and flowing* behind the ears," (which in the earliest brasses are large and prominent, and the neck broad

\* The epitaph at Fulbourn is found as late as 1590 at Mathern, Monmouthshire. In Southey's Common Place Book, 3rd Series, p. 282, is an account of a curious misinterpretation of this inscription. "An epitaph in the church of St. Hilary at Poitiers, beginning, '*Fermibus hic ponor.*' This the people interpreted to mean that a saint was

buried there who undertook to cure children of the worms. Women accordingly used to scrape the tomb, and administer the powder. And when the clergy, to prevent this absurdity (for Luther had arisen), erected a barrier to keep them off, they used to carry away pieces of the wooden bars."

and thick,) the beard



Adam de Bacon (?). Priest, c. 1310, Oulton, Suffolk.<sup>a</sup>

stunted and imitated by dots, "the amice lying loosely round the neck, and not, as in late brasses, like a stiff collar; the stole and maniple wider at their ends, and the apparels at the wrists of the albe usually *continued entirely round* the wrists<sup>a</sup>" in brasses in the first half of the century, in others they are a small square placed on the upper side. The orphreys and apparels are embroidered with *large* circular, square, or lozenge-shaped compartments, filled with characteristic flowers or foliage of corresponding shape (see the annexed engravings), leopards' faces, or the "fylfot" and similar devices. The orphreys of the chasuble are often of the pallium<sup>b</sup> shape, and, in the latter half of the century, the tight sleeves of an under-dress reach half way up the hands, and are buttoned underneath. The engravings of the brasses of Bp. Trelick, 1360 (frontispiece), and of priests at Oulton, Suffolk, c. 1310; Chinnor, Oxon., c. 1320<sup>c</sup>; Woodchurch, Kent, c. 1320; Brington, Northants., c. 1340; Denham, Bucks., c. 1360; and Crondall, Hants., c. 1370<sup>c</sup>, furnish good examples of the foregoing peculiarities, and of the successive changes in style during the century.



End of Stole, c. 1370, West Hanney, Berks.

The earliest brasses of ecclesiastics are the demi-figure of Richard de Hakebourne, c. 1311, Merton College, Oxford, evidently the work of the same artist as the fine effigy lately at Oulton; the brass of Archbishop Grenefeld, 1315, York Minster; the small figure

<sup>a</sup> Manning, in Paley's Manual of Gothic Architecture, p. 280.

<sup>b</sup> See the engraving of the brasses at Woodchurch, Kent, supra, p. cxxxvi, and

Denham, Bucks., p. cxliii.

<sup>c</sup> Engraved at pp. cxxxv., lxvii.

<sup>d</sup> This brass was stolen from the church in February, 1857.



(Nichol de Gore), c. 1320 in a cross at Woodchurch, Kent; the demi-figures at Wantage, Berks., c. 1320 (?), Kemsing, Kent (Thomas de Hop), c. 1320, and Corringham, Essex (Richard de Beltoun),



A Priest, c. 1340, Great Brington, Northants. A Priest, c. 1360, Denham, Bucks.\*

c. 1340; and the curious brass of John de Grovehurst, c. 1340, under a fine canopy, Horsemonden, Kent. These (except the instance at Wantage) and the Flemish brasses, c. 1360, at St. Alban's, North Mimms, and Wensley, have the apparels encircling the wrists. In these Flemish brasses, the folds of the orphreys are differently designed from the English examples; in the former, the broad lines are cut through the pattern, which is drawn entire as if on a flat surface, in the latter the pattern gives way to the folds, and is represented as partially concealed, which gives a superior and more artistic effect to the composition. The only other brass of the earlier half of the century not hitherto mentioned, is the fine effigy of Laurence de St. Maur, Rector, 1337, at Higham Ferrers, Northants.; on the breast is engraved the prayer, *filii dei miserere mei*. Above it, is a beautiful canopy with figures of saints, now much mutilated<sup>f</sup>.

\* This effigy, evidently engraved by the same artist as that at Ockham, Surrey, c. 1360, is now lost. The engraving has been made from a rubbing kindly lent for the purpose by J. B. Nichols, Esq. The original lay in the chancel of Denham Church, and was surrounded by an inscription containing the text from Job xix. 25, 26. See Lipsecomb's Bucks., vol. iv. p. 452.

<sup>f</sup> The following is a list of the principal figures of priests in eucharistical vestments, after the middle of the fourteenth century:—

c. 1360. Wm. de Herleston, Spars-holt, Berks.

c. 1360. Esmound de Buruedissh, Brundish, Suffolk.

c. 1360. Walter Frilende, demi-figure, Ockham, Surrey.

It is only towards the end of the century that priests belonging to collegiate societies are represented in the processional vestments: the following fine instances have been noticed: Archdeacon Rothewelle, 1361, Rothwell, Northants.; a Priest, with feet on a lion, c. 1380, Watton, Herts.; Adam D'Ertham, demi-figure, 1382, Arundel, Sussex; Nicholas de Louth, 1383, Cottingham, Yorks.; all without orphreys to the cope. John de Campeden, 1382, St. Cross, Winchester, and William de Fulburne, 1391, Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire, both large, and apparently engraved by the same artists; Dean Harold (?), 1393, Hereford Cathedral, and Matthew Assheton, 1400, with feet on a dog, Shillington, Beds. In these, as in the figures at the beginning of the next century, the surplice is usually long, and covers the cassock, the almuce is without any cape, and the morse, as at Fulbourn, 1391, is ornamented with the armorial bearings of the deceased. At Chinnor, Oxon., is a fine half-length figure of John Hotham, 1361, in academical costume.

*Military.* The earliest brasses of Knights extant, are those of Sir John D'Aubernoun, 1277, Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, (see the engraving<sup>g</sup> on the opposite page); Sir Roger de Trumpington,

c. 1360. A Priest, Flemish, North Mimms, Herts.

c. 1360. Simon de Wenslagh, Flemish, Wensley, Yorks.

1361. Water de Aunesfordhe, demi-figure, Binfield, Berks.

1364. Wm. Darell, demi-figure, Brandesburton, Yorks.

c. 1370. John Seys, West Hanney, Berks.

c. 1370. Rich. Brey, demi-figure, Barton-in-the-Clay, Beds.

c. 1370. A Priest, Stoke-in-Teignhead, Devon.

c. 1370. A Priest, Shottesbrooke, Berks.

c. 1370. John Verien, demi-figure, Saltwood, Kent.

c. 1370. Robt. Levee, or Lence, demi-figure, Hayes, Kent.

c. 1370. A demi-figure, St. David's, Pembrokeshire, in private hands.

1375. Peter de Lacy, Northfleet, Kent.

c. 1375. Ralph Perchebay, demi-figure, Stifford, Essex.

c. 1380. A Priest, Beachanwell, Norfolk.

c. 1380. John Alderburne, demi-figure, Lewknor, Oxon.

c. 1380. A Priest, Lydgate, Suffolk.

1388. Alexander Chelseye, demi-figure, Chinnor, Oxon.

1389. Rich. Thaseburgh, Hellesdon, Norfolk.

c. 1390. A mutilated figure, Fulbourn, Camb.

1391. Wm. Lye, demi-figure, Northfleet, Kent.

1395. John de Swynstede, Ashridge House, Herts.

1396. Wm. Groby, demi-figure, High Halstow, Kent.

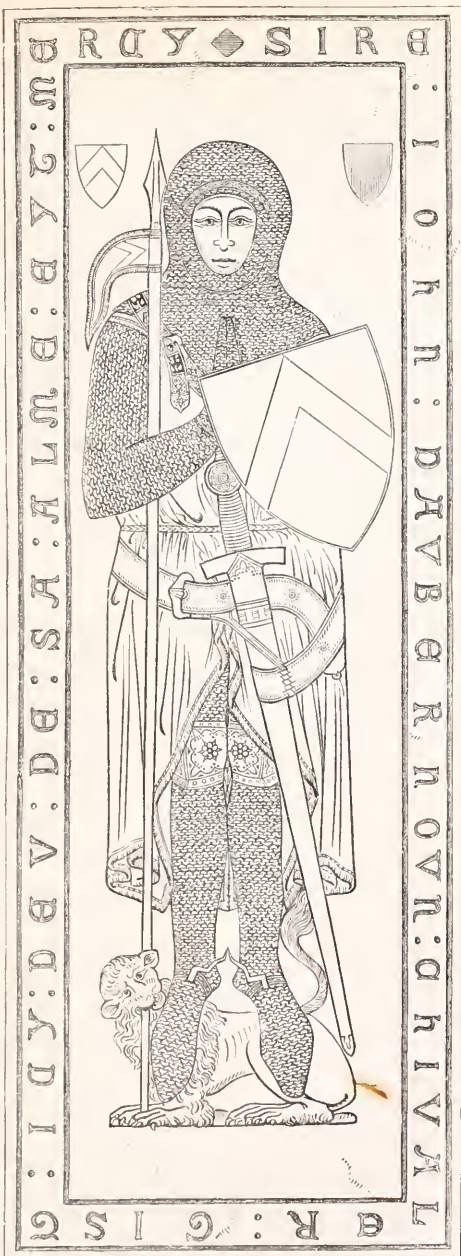
1398. Roger Campedene, demi-figure, Stamford-in-the-Vale, Berks.

1399. Thos. and Rich. Gomfrey, Dronfield, Derbyshire.

c. 1400. A Priest, Stanford, Notts.

From the style of engraving only, it is very difficult to determine with great accuracy the date of several of these early brasses of priests.

<sup>g</sup> The author is indebted to the Committee of the Surrey Archaeological Society for the use of the engraving of Sir John D'Aubernoun.



Sir John d'Aubernoun, 1277, Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey.

1289, Trumpington, near Cambridge; Sir Robert de Bures, 1302, Acton, Suffolk; Sir Robert de Setvans, 1306, Chartham, Kent, (all cross-legged effigies except the first); and two demi-figures,



Sir Roger de Trumpington, 1289,  
Trumpington, Camb.

Sir Robt. de Setvans, 1306,  
Chartham, Kent.<sup>h</sup>

c. 1310 (?), in Lincolnshire, one at Croft, and the other, Sir Richard de Buslingthorpe, at Buslingthorp<sup>i</sup>.

All these are armed in complete mail; their suit consists of a

<sup>h</sup> The head and legs of the lion beneath the feet are now lost. The figure is composed of three plates, which are inaccurately put together.

<sup>i</sup> See the engraving at p. cl. At

Linwood, Lincolnshire; Aston Rowant, Oxon.; and Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk, are matrices of early brasses of knights, probably all cross-legged.

*hawberk*, or shirt of mail, reaching nearly to the knees, slit up a short way in front for convenience in riding, having a hood or *coif de mailles*, which wraps round the neck and head, and fastens across the forehead with an interlaced strap; long sleeves terminating in mufflers, or gloves not divided into fingers, which also are fastened round the wrists by straps; the thighs, legs, and feet are encased in *chausses* of mail, which in the figure of Sir John D'Aubernoun appear to be of one piece with the hawberk. The chausses were sometimes of two pieces, and joined at the knee by garters; but whether this is the case here, cannot be ascertained, as the knees are protected with *poleyns*. The poleyns, or *genouillières* (i. e. knee-pieces), were probably made of ordinary leather, or else of a prepared kind termed *cuir-bouilli*, and usually much ornamented<sup>k</sup>, as on the figure of Sir Robert de Bures (see the engraving on the next page). Around the ancles, single-pointed or "pryk" spurs are buckled, which are secured by straps passing across the instep and under the foot. Over the armour was worn the *bliaus* or *surcoat*<sup>l</sup>, which was sleeveless, with a short skirt open in front, and confined round the waist by a narrow belt or cord. The shield, which was either large and concave to the body, or small and heater shaped, was attached above the left arm by an ornamented *guige* or strap passing over the right shoulder. A large sword, with enriched scabbard and hilt, was suspended from the left side by a broad belt buckled across the hips, and hung down in front of the legs. Such is in general the armour on the brasses under consideration; the demi-figures being similar as far as they remain entire.

But a particular examination of these several effigies in detail, furnishes a still more complete view of the defensive armour of the period. That of Sir Robert de Setvans exhibits some peculiarities usually confined to Continental effigies; the coif de mailles is not

<sup>k</sup> Small plates at the elbows were also in use, and probably made of the same material as the poleyns. Both, however, may possibly have been of steel.

<sup>l</sup> The surcoat, which was sometimes charged with armorial bearings, as at Chartham, Kent, "seems to have originated with the crusaders for the purpose of distinguishing the many different nations serving under the banner of the cross, and to throw a veil over

the iron armour, so apt to heat excessively when exposed to the direct rays of the sun." Meyrick, *Anc. Arms and Armour*, p. 100, ed. 1824, from which work much of the information in the text relative to the material and names of the various pieces of armour has been derived. For a full account of the early brasses of knights in this century, the reader is referred to Messrs. Waller's beautiful Series of Monumental Brasses.

drawn over the head, but lies loosely round the neck, and in this respect resembles the stone effigy of one of the Rous family in the Temple Church, London; his mail gloves are slipped off the hands, and hanging down from the wrists exhibit the ends of the sleeves of the *hauketon*, the skirt of which may be seen beneath that of the *hawberk*. The *hauketon*<sup>m</sup>, which was nearly identical with the *wambais* or *gambeson*, was a tunic of leather, buckram, &c., stuffed with wool, cotton, tow, &c., stitched in parallel lines, and put on beneath the *hawberk*, to diminish the pressure of the mail, and to serve as an additional protection. It was sometimes worn outside the mail, or alone, and possessed the advantage over steel armour of not being liable to rust. A similar garment, but of lighter materials, was the *pourpoint* (*per-punctum*), but its stitching was more ornamented, and the threads seem to have been knotted outside so as to form a kind of embroidery; its facing was of silk, sometimes of the rich and thin kind called *cendall*, or *sandall*, which resembled *sarcenet*. The ornament of the *pourpoint* is well exemplified in the *cuisse*s, or thigh armour, of Sir Robert de Bures, whose figure appears to be more beautifully designed than the rest. To the back of the shoulders of the knights at Trumpington, Chartham, and Buslingthorp, are fixed *ailettes*, or little wings, which were made of leather, edged with fringe, tied on by silk cords, and probably intended for defence: they were frequently charged with the armorial bearings of the wearer. Besides the *coif de mailles*, the head was further protected by a *chapel-de-fer*, *cervelière*, or skull-cap, which was worn either above or beneath the mail hood. Helmets, such as that on which the head of Sir Roger de Trumpington reclines, were also worn throughout the century, and were chiefly used at tournaments. They were often ornamented with a cross in front, had slits for the eyes, and breathing holes, or small crosses, beneath; to a staple at



Hands, &c., brass of Sir Robt. de Setrans.



Poleyns and Cuisse, brass of Sir Robt. de Bures, Acton, Suffolk.

the wearer. Besides the *coif de mailles*, the head was further protected by a *chapel-de-fer*, *cervelière*, or skull-cap, which was worn either above or beneath the mail hood. Helmets, such as that on which the head of Sir Roger de Trumpington reclines, were also worn throughout the century, and were chiefly used at tournaments. They were often ornamented with a cross in front, had slits for the eyes, and breathing holes, or small crosses, beneath; to a staple at

<sup>m</sup> The *hoketon*, *hoqueton*, or *hauketon*, is perhaps derived from the Asiatic *δ χιτών*, tunic, as the name was variously spelt,

the apex, a feather or the lady's scarf, called the *cointisse*, or "kerchief of Plesaunce," was attached<sup>n</sup>. In the example just mentioned, the helmet is attached by a chain to the girdle, "to enable the knight to recover it if knocked off in the fray<sup>o</sup>."

If these figures be still more minutely examined, it will be seen that the mail armour is represented in different ways. The knight at Croft has that kind of mail which has been supposed to have been formed of rows of rings set edgeways, or else overlapping each other, and sewed on to a strong quilted tunic, each row in succession lying alternately to the left and right<sup>p</sup>. Interstices are apparently left between each row of rings, in order perhaps to render it more flexible; this species of defence has been termed *banded ring mail*. All the other figures furnish examples of interlaced chain mail, which was usually composed of four steel rings joining a fifth, and all fastened by rivets; the rings at the edges were generally of brass, and sometimes ten rings interlace, and form what has been called double chain mail. This kind of armour appears to have been introduced into England from the East, during the crusades in the reign of Henry III.: on account of its greater flexibility and strength, it eventually superseded the mail formed of rings set edge-



Banded Mail.

<sup>n</sup> The *cointisse* originally was of larger size, and worn round the body.

<sup>o</sup> Waller's Brasses, pt. x. The same precaution may be seen on the brasses at Minster in the Isle of Sheppy, c. 1330, and Aveley, Essex, 1370, where the chains are fastened on the breast, instead of the girdle; in the latter instance the sword and dagger are thus secured.

<sup>p</sup> It is uncertain whether the peculiar style of engraving said to represent this sort of mail, be not in many cases a conventional form and easier method of representing the interlaced chain mail described below. When the partition lines (as on the brass of Sir Roger de Trumpington) are omitted, or when there is only one partition line, there can be little doubt that this is the case, as in the sixteenth century the chain mail was certainly so represented on brasses: see, for instance, the engraving of the military effigy from Cobham, Surrey, *supra*, p. xlvii. Compare also

the fringes of the camails on brasses at the beginning of the fifteenth century, e.g. on those of Sir Nicholas Hawberk, 1407, Cobham, Kent; Sir Thomas Masyngberde, c. 1405, Gunby, Lincolnshire; and Sir Wm. Tendring, 1408, Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk, engraved in Mr. Boutell's *Mon. Brasses and Slabs*, p. 178, and *Series of Mon. Brasses*. On figures at Strensham, Worcestershire, c. 1390; Draycot Cerne, Wilts., 1393; Dartmouth, Devon, 1403, &c., the mail is represented in two different ways. The practice of putting two partition lines between the crescent-shaped incisions is confined to brasses of the fourteenth century, and is perhaps not to be found later than c. 1380. The mail on brasses at Elsing, Norfolk, and Wimbish, Essex, 1347, is represented differently to that on any others. On the brasses at Chartham, Kent, and Buslingthorp the mail is merely sketched out; see *supra*, p. xxxiv.

ways, which were extremely liable to be struck off by the blow of a sword.

The gloves of Sir Richard de Busingthorpe afford instances of another kind of ancient armour, which consisted of overlapping scales of plate, sewed on to an under garment. The only other examples on brasses are on the wrists of Sir John de Northwode, c. 1330, Minster in Sheppy, Kent<sup>q</sup>, and on the feet of Sir William Cheyne, 1375, at Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks.



Sir Rich. de Busingthorpe, c. 1310,  
Busingthorp, Lincolnshire.

The next change in armour is exhibited by the brasses of the reign of Edward II., of which the following examples only remain. Two mutilated figures of knights, c. 1320, of the Fitzralph and Bacon families, at Gorleston, Suffolk<sup>r</sup>, and Pebmarsh, Essex; Sir John de Creke, c. 1325, Westley Waterless, Camb. (see the engraving on the opposite page); Sir John D'Aubernoun, 1327, Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey<sup>r</sup>, and Sir John de Northwode, c. 1330, Minster in Sheppy<sup>q</sup>. These figures show the gradual addition of plate armour, consisting of *roundels*, or circular plates, perhaps termed *palettes*<sup>s</sup>, attached to the front of the shoulder and elbow by *tags* or *arming points*; demi-plates strapped over the upper and fore arms, and termed respectively, when entirely surrounding the arms, "*arrière-bras*," *rerebraces*, or *brassarts*, and "*avant-bras*," or *vambraces*. The shins were also defended by greaves of plate called *jambes*, and the upper part of the feet by *sollerets*, composed of over-lapping plates. The knights at Gorleston and Pebmarsh are cross-legged, the one in the so-called banded mail and the other in chain mail, and differ from the earlier figures in the above respects only. In the other three, which are in banded mail, the sleeves of the hawberk reach only a little below the elbows, and are slit under-

<sup>q</sup> See the engraving at p. xxiii. Tunics composed of scale-work are worn by some of the seated figures at the Peacock Feast on the brass at Lynn, 1364; see *supra*, p. cxxi. For an account of this style of armour and of the banded mail, see two articles by J. Hewitt, Esq., in the *Arch. Journ.*, vol. vii. p. 360, and vol. viii. p. 290.

<sup>r</sup> See the engravings at p. clii.

<sup>s</sup> From a note in the *Arch. Journ.* (vol. viii. p. 87) by Albert Way, Esq., on an inventory made c. 1450 of some armour formerly at Winchester College, it appears that palettes were head-pieces; the *pelluris*, *galea ex coreo et pelle*, a defence, no doubt, of *cuir-bouilli*. See also *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xiv. p. 53.





Sir John de Creke and Lady, c. 1325, Westley Waterless, Camb.

neath; the fore-arms are entirely defended by vambraces, and the



A member of the de Bacon family, c. 1320, Gorleston, Suffolk.



Sir John D'Aubernoun, 1327, Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey.

hands are bare. On the heads of these figures are “cervelières<sup>t</sup>” or

<sup>t</sup> Called by the Italians *cervelliera*, from *cervella*, ‘a skull.’ The cervelière was more pointed than the chapelle-de-fer. It differed from the bascinet in not coming down so low behind, and at the sides of the face. Moveable *aventailles*, or vizors, were attached to the headpiece to protect the face. The kettle-hat, so called from its resembling

an inverted cauldron, was also used in this century. It had a ridge over the top of the head, and a wide brim, and is well represented on the small figure of Lord St. Amand, on the brass at Elsing, Norfolk, 1347. See a notice of this curious head-piece in Arch. Journ., vol. xiv. p. 53.

*bascinets*, to which the *camail*<sup>u</sup>, or upper part of the hawberk which covered the neck and shoulders, was fastened, by laces or otherwise; and instead of the surcoat, the *cyclas*<sup>x</sup> is worn, which was also sleeveless, was shorter in front than behind, and laced up at the sides of the body. In the effigies of Sir John D'Aubernoun and Sir John de Creke, the skirt of the hawberk is pointed in front; beneath it the edge of the hawketon is seen, and above it that of the pourpoint, which is studded with rosettes, and has a fringed border<sup>y</sup>. *Rowell*, or wheel spurs, first appear on the brass of Sir John de Creke.

Not long after the commencement of the reign of Edward the Third, the *jupon*<sup>z</sup> was substituted for the *cyclas*. This garment, like the *cyclas*, fitted close to the body, was without sleeves, and sometimes laced up at the sides; but its skirt was shorter, and of equal length in front and behind. It was made of silk or velvet, stuffed with cotton, and stitched, and was frequently charged with armorial bearings. Probably about the same period breast-plates and back-pieces came into use: the former appear to have been suggested by the small plate, or "plastron de fer," and like it were worn either above or beneath the hawberk. The interesting effigy of Sir John Giffard, 1348, lately restored to Bowers Gifford Church, Essex<sup>a</sup>, affords an early instance of the *jupon* on



Sir John Giffard, 1348, Bowers Gifford, Essex.

<sup>u</sup> Two derivations of this word have been given, one that it is a shortened form of cap-mail; the other, by Sir Sam. Meyrick, from its resembling a tippet of camel's hair, styled by the Greeks of Constantinople *καμελαύκιον*.

<sup>x</sup> Called also *ciglaton*, *siclaton*. *Cyclas* seems to be a term borrowed from the Greeks, by whom it was called *κυκλάς*, from its fitting close round the body.

<sup>y</sup> Sir John de Creke probably wears another garment, perhaps of *euir-bouilli*, between his hawberk and pourpoint. Waller, pt. x.

<sup>z</sup> The *guipon*, or *gyppon*, French *jupon* and *juppel*, Ital. *giubba*, Spanish *jupon*, *aljuba*, (*aljuca*?) was of Arabic origin, as the last word implies, and signified the Moorish *thorax*.

<sup>a</sup> When the church was rebuilt several

a brass effigy, and the latest in which mail armour is found without the additional defences of plate on the arms and legs. The sleeve of the hauberkon is visible on the fore-arm. The gauntlets and *cuisse*s, or thigh-armour, are also composed of padded work, and the former have apparently small plates of steel on the fingers. A shield suspended over the left arm bears the charge, Sa. six fleur-de-lys or, Giffard, the field of which is elegantly ornamented with scroll-work.

Besides the effigy of Sir John Giffard, two other brasses only of knights, of the first twenty-five years of Edward the Third, are known to be extant: Sir Hugh Hastings, Elsing, Norfolk; and Sir John de Wantyng, or Wanton, Wimbish, Essex; both of the date 1347. They wear jupons, and mixed armour of mail and plate; the former has a *gorget*, or collar of plate, over the camail, and a perforated moveable vizor attached to his bascinet. These vizors, when seen in profile, resemble the beaks of birds, as on the brass of Sir John Mauleverere, 1400, at Allerton Mauleverer, Yorks., and on some small figures in the shafts of the canopy of Sir Hugh Hastings; one of these, the effigy of Ralph, Lord Stafford (see the engraving on the opposite page) affords a very good example of the armour of the period; it differs chiefly from the figure of Sir Hugh Hastings in having jambs of plate over the chausses of mail, and the shield placed over the left thigh; the knobs, or spikes<sup>b</sup>, projecting from the genouillères, are characteristic of this date. The armorial bearing of Sir Hugh Hastings, Or, a maunche gu. with a label az., is placed both on his jupon and shield, and is richly adorned with scroll-work. The knight at Wimbish is the earliest instance in which the shield is omitted.

After the middle of the century, knights always wore moustaches and beards<sup>c</sup> and their armour became much less variable. It con-

years ago, this brass was given to a gentleman residing at Billericay, and was long supposed to be lost. Owing to the praiseworthy enquiries and exertions of Mr. H. W. King, it has been discovered, and restored to the Rector to be replaced in the church. An engraving of this brass, with an account of it and of the Giffard family, written by Mr. King, will be found in the Proceedings of the Essex Arch. Soc., vol. i. p. 93. See also the Arch. Journ. vol.

xiii. p. 189. The outline of the head in the engraving is purely conjectural, the original slab having disappeared from the church.

<sup>b</sup> They seem to have been copied from the figure of Sir Hugh Hastings on that of Sir Roger L'Estrange, 1506, at Hunstanton, Norfolk, see *supra*, p. liii. note q.

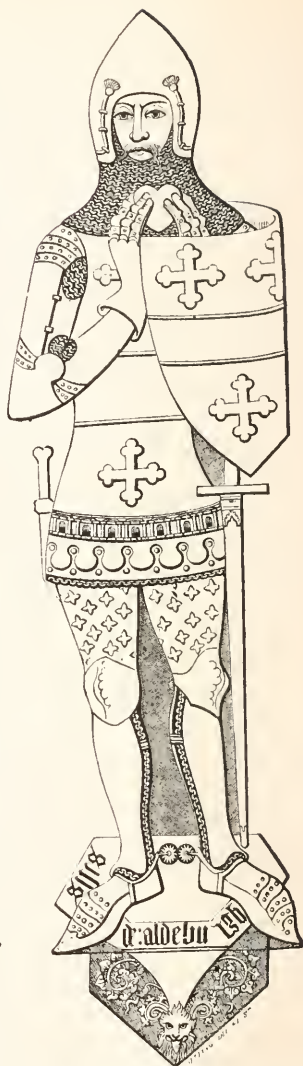
<sup>c</sup> The beard was covered by the camail, and therefore was rarely visible; but on the fine brass at Stoke-by-Nayland,



3 Inches

Ralph, Lord Stafford, from the brass of Sir Hugh Haat A.S., 1347.  
Elsing, Norfolk.

sisted of an acutely pointed bascinet, to which the camail or tippet of mail, (now disunited from the hawberk,) was attached by a cord passed through *vervelles*, or staples, placed round the lower edges of the bascinet, with its ends carried up beside the face, and fastened above in knots or tassels. The body was defended by a short hawberk or *habergeon*, with a straight edge; in addition to which a breast-plate was probably worn, and above all the jupon with an escalloped border to its skirt<sup>d</sup>. A *bawdric*, or broad belt, enriched with flowers in circles, &c., passed round the hips, and buckling in front, kept the jupon in its proper position. At the left side was suspended the sword, with a circular or octangular pommel, and a peculiar ornament at the top of the scabbard; and at the right the *basilard*, *anelace*, *misericorde*, or dagger of mercy, which was destitute of a cross-guard: these weapons were attached to the bawdric by short cords or chains. *Epaulières*, (epaulets,) consisting of over-lapping plates, usually three in number, protected the shoulders: the brassarts and vambraces were now generally of two pieces united by a hinge, and entirely encircled the arms. Mail armour was seen at the armpits; and also at the elbow joints, which were



William de Aldeburgh, c. 1330, Aldborough, Yorks.

Suffolk, of Sir Wm. Tendring, 1408, who is represented bare-headed, the beard is seen. It is also visible on a brass, 1417, at Mendlesham in the same county.

<sup>d</sup> The haketon was of course worn

under the body armour; its sleeves may be seen on the wrists of the knights at Elsing, Norfolk, 1347, and Aveley, Essex, 1370. Wm. de Aldeburgh has also the pourpoint, which is just perceptible under



Lord John Harsick and Lady, 1334. Southacre, Norfolk.

covered by *coutes*, or elbow-pieces, with heart-shaped, or in early instances, small circular hinges. To these the straps or axles which passed across the bend of the elbows were fastened. The gauntlets were of leather, with scales or separate plates on the backs, and knobs or spikes on the knuckles, which were termed *gallings*, and



Part of the figure of Sir Miles Stapleton, 1364-5, formerly at Ing-ham, Norfolk.

occasionally used for offence. The cuisses were frequently of pourpoint-work, faced with silk or other rich material, usually of a red colour, with gilt studs of metal sewed on it. These are generally met with on earlier examples, as at Elsing and Wimbish, 1347; Bodyham, Sussex, c. 1360; Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks., 1368; and Cobham, Kent, 1354, c. 1365, &c. Chausses of mail were still worn; and over them *genouillières*, which in brasses



Leg of Sir Thomas Cheyne, 1368, Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks.

pot-lids; also jamba of plate. The construction of the *genouillières* and jamba was like that of the *coutes*, brassarts and vambraces. Pointed *sollerets* protected the feet, and rowell spurs were buckled over the instep. The mail on brasses of this period is usually represented as if made of over-

the skirt of his jupon: this is the latest brass on which the shield occurs. A jupon of pourpoint is on the figure at Aveley, and was also on that of Sir Miles Stapleton, 1365, formerly at Ing-ham, Norfolk. See the engraving above.

\* The fringe below the *genouillières* in this example is also on the effigy at Bowers Gifford. The jamba, like those of Sir Miles Stapleton, and the cuisses of Sir John de Cobham, 1354, Cobham, Kent, are either strips of steel, sewed on cloth, or some similar material; or perhaps are of pourpoint, fluted by strips of steel inlaid, with the studs arranged in rows in the depressions. Similar fluted armour occurs on the enisses of a stone effigy of a knight at Tewkesbury Abbey. It is difficult to determine exactly the character of the studded or bezanted armour. It very probably was constructed like the splints of the

breast and back-pieces of a knight of the fourteenth century, described in a review of a German work by Drs. Hefner and Wolf, in the Arch. Journ., vol. vii. p. 405: "strips of metal, like hooping, are placed horizontally across the body, the upper edge of each band being perforated for rivets. These strips are arranged so as slightly to overlap each other; a piece of velvet or other stuff is then laid over the whole, and by rows of rivets fastened to the bands of iron beneath. The velvet being of a rich hue, and the rivet-heads gilt, the garment presents exactly the appearance of those knightly caparisons in which spots of gold are seen studding the whole superficies of a dress of crimson or other brilliant tincture." A knight at Ash Church, Kent, has body-armour apparently of this kind.



lapping rings, or of rings set edgeways. Towards the end of the century the use of the hawberk and chausses of mail was gradually relinquished, on account of their weight; a short skirt of mail was attached to the breast-plates and back-plates, and gussets, or small pieces of mail, were retained at the various bends of the limbs, and were sewed to the padded or leathern garment worn under the armour<sup>f</sup>. The brasses of Wm. de Aldeburgh, c. 1360, Aldborough, Yorks.; Sir Nicholas Burnell, 1382, Acton Burnell, Shropshire (see p. cxxxviii.), and Lord Harsick, 1384, Southacre, Norfolk, are good examples of the armour of the period; on the last-named brass may be seen, in profile, the tilting helmet worn over the bascinet, with the cointisse and crest (in a hoop or, a bunch of turkey feathers) attached to it.

About 1390 slight changes in the mode of decoration are perceptible on brasses; the chain mail was generally used, the lace of the camail was more effectually protected by passing through a groove, formed by two raised rims carried along the edge of the bascinet and across the forehead; the jupon had scalloped or fringed arm-holes, and the lower edge sometimes (c. 1400) cut into a border of leaves, the edges of the armour of the legs and thighs had an invecked border, the gauntlets were more ornamented, the cuisses were of plate, the gussets of mail at the knees were more distinctly visible, and the genouillières had square plates below, and sometimes above them. The hilt of the sword was ornamented with cross cords, and its scabbard



Robert Albyn, c. 1400, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.

<sup>f</sup> See the engraving of a man putting on his armour, in Arch. Journ., vol. iv. p. 226. These gussets were probably termed *vuiders*, a term explained by Mr. Albert Way as "either gussets of mail or overlapping plates, serving to

fill up the spaces, or *vuides*, either at the elbows or the knee-joints." Ibid., p. 230. Plate armour was usually lined or padded, to prevent galling the wearer; it was also often covered with silk velvet or other rich materials.

richly decorated. Collars were now frequently worn. Effigies of knights exhibiting these changes are at Hemel Hempstead, Herts., and Laughton, Lincolnshire, c. 1400 (see the engraving on the opposite page), both have their swords suspended by a diagonal belt, although they wear the horizontal bawdrick; the same arrangement may be seen on a fine figure at Spilsby, Lincolnshire, c. 1405, and is especially observable on stone effigies. Other instances are at Letheringham, Suffolk, c. 1390; Strensham, Worcestershire, c. 1390; Wanlip, Leicestershire, 1393; Draycot Cerne, Wilts., 1393-4; Sheldwich, Kent, 1394; Brandesburton, Yorks., 1397; Mere, Wilts., 1398; Playford, Suffolk, 1400; Blickling, Norfolk, 1401<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> The following are good instances of brasses of knights of the latter half of this century:—

1354. Sir John de Cobham, Cobham, Kent.

c. 1360. Sir John Bodiham (?), Bodiham, Sussex.

c. 1360. Wm. de Aldeburgh, Aldborough, Yorks.

1361. Sir Philip Peletoot, Watton, Herts.

c. 1365. Sir John de Cobham, Cobham, Kent.

1367. Sir Thos. de Cobham, Cobham, Kent.

1368. Thos. Cheyne, Esq., Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks.

1370. Ralph de Knevynnton, Aveley, Essex.

c. 1370. Edmund Flambard, Harrow, Middx.

c. 1370. A Knight (Rydford?) and lady, Broughton, Lincolnshire.

c. 1370. Sir John de la Pole and lady, Chrishall, Essex.

c. 1370. A Knight, Ticehurst, Sussex.

1371. Thos. Stapel, Esq., Shopland, Essex.

1371? Sir John de Mereworth, Mereworth, Kent.

1375. Wm. Cheyne, Esq., Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks.

1378. Sir John de Foxle and ladies, Bray, Berks.

c. 1380. — Quintin, Cliffe-Pypard, Wilts.

c. 1380. Sir — Dallingridge and lady, Fletching, Sussex.

c. 1380. Sir Roger de Felbrig and Lady, Felbrigg, Norfolk.

c. 1380. A Knight, Calbourne, Isle of Wight.

c. 1380. A Knight, St. Michael's, St. Alban's, Herts.

1381. Rich. de Feversham, Graveney, Kent.

1382. Lord Nicholas Burnell, Acton Burnell, Shropshire.

1382. Sir John de Argenteine, Horseheath, Camb.

1384. Lord John Harsick and lady, Southacre, Norfolk.

1385. Sir Thos. de Audeley, Audley, Staffordshire.

c. 1385. Sir Reginald Malyns and ladies, Chinnor, Oxon.

c. 1385. Sir Esmoun de Malyns, and lady, demi-figures, Chinnor, Oxon.

1387. Sir Robt. de Grey, Rotherfield Greys, Oxon.

1388. Sir Wm. de Echingham, Etchingham, Sussex.

1390. Sir Andrew Lutterell, Irnham, Lincolnshire.

c. 1390. John Flambard, Harrow, Middx.

c. 1390. Lord John Wyngefeld, Letheringham, Suffolk.

1391. Sir Wm. de Kerdiston and lady, Reepham, Norfolk.

1392. Thos. Lord Berkeley and lady, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire.

1392? John Cray, Esq., Chinnor, Oxon.

1393. Sir Henry English and lady, Wood Ditton, Cambridgeshire.

1393. Sir Thos. Walsch and lady, Wanlip, Leicestershire.

1394. Lord Rich. Attelese and lady, Sheldwich, Kent.



Hic iacet Willielmus filius domini Henrici de Wintonia et Margarete comitissa  
 de Arundel ac de Wintonia pater Henrici de Wintonia comitis et Margarete de Arundel  
 filie theobaldi regis Anglie qui obiit die octava octonis die mensis  
 Decembris Anno domini millesimo ccccmo et lxxmo regni Henrici octavi regis  
 Anglie et Margarete comitisse de Arundel anno domini Millesimo ccccmo et lxxmo  
 regni Henrici octavi regis Anglie et Margarete comitisse de Arundel

A Knight, c.1400, Laughton, Lincolnshire.

*Civilians.* Although but few examples of this class remain, there are enough to enable us to determine with tolerable accuracy the costume of this century from its monumental brasses.



Adam de Walsokne, 1349, St. Margaret's,  
Lynn, Norfolk <sup>b</sup>

Instances in the earlier part of the century are at East Wickham, Kent, c. 1325, (see the engraving at page cxxxv.); Taplow, Bucks, c. 1350; the fine Flemish brasses at Lynn, Norfolk, 1349 and 1364; and Newark, Notts., 1361. From these figures it appears that the hair was long and flowing <sup>i</sup>, and that moustaches and a beard, sometimes



Nicholas De Aumberdene,  
c. 1350, Taplow, Bucks. <sup>k</sup>

forked, were worn. The dress, with slight differences, consists of a close-fitting tunic, or *cotehardie*, reaching below the knees, partly open, sometimes with pockets in front; and with tight sleeves extending to the elbows, and there either terminating, or hanging down in long lappets, or liripipes, as in the annexed engraving. On the fore-arm are seen the tight sleeves, with buttons underneath, of an under-dress. Over the shoulders were a hood and a cape or tippet. The legs were clothed in tight hose, and the feet in shoes, which either

1395. Lord Wm. de Bryene, Seal, Kent.

1395? John Raven, Esq.? Great Berkhamstead, Herts.

1397. Sir John St. Quintin and lady, Brandesburton, Yorks.

1398. Sir John Bettesthorpe, Mere, Wilts.

1400. Sir John Mauleverere and lady, Allerton Mauleverer, Yorks.

1400. Sir Geo. Felbrigg, Playford, Suffolk.

1400. Sir Ingelram Bruyn, South Ockendon, Essex.

c. 1400. Robert Albyn and lady, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.

c. 1400. A Knight, Loughton, Lincolnshire.

<sup>b</sup> This engraving is copied from that in Cotman's *Brasses of Norfolk and Suffolk*. Since the time (1819) of the publication of that work, the original brass has been sadly defaced, and the faces of the figures nearly obliterated.

<sup>i</sup> See the bust at Blickling, Norfolk, c. 1370, engraved *supra* at p. cxxxiv.

<sup>k</sup> Part of the right foot is mutilated in the original.

laced up at the sides, or fastened across the instep; which fashions prevailed throughout the century.



Robert de Parys, 1379? Hildersham,  
Cambridgeshire.

The tunic or cote-hardie sometimes reached only to the thighs, and was buttoned up in front; the sleeves were tight, and extended to the knuckles, and a bawdric was buckled round the hips. Such a dress is worn by Robert de Parys, 1379<sup>1</sup>? at Hildersham, Cambridgeshire. Tunics with long tight sleeves, fastened with buttons below the elbows, are on the demi-figures at Nuffield, Oxon., c. 1360: Rusper, Sussex; Graveney, Kent; and Deddington, Oxon., c. 1370. These wear also capes and hoods.

Towards the close of the century the hair is worn shorter, and is thrown back from off the temples; the cape is generally omitted, and the hood is sometimes fastened with buttons. The tunic reaches to the ankles, is in some cases secured with buttons in front, and confined at the waist by an ornamented girdle<sup>m</sup>, from which is suspended the basilard or anelace, usually at the left side, sometimes at the right, or in front. The sleeves were close, and from beneath them emerge the tight sleeves of an under-dress, which generally buttoned beneath, and reached half way along the hands. Over all was worn a mantle, fastened by two or three buttons on the right shoulder, and thrown over the left arm. Good examples of frankleins<sup>n</sup> and merchants in this dress are on fine brasses at Shottesbrooke, Berks., c. 1370; Felbrigg, Norfolk, and King's Sombourne, Hants., two figures,

<sup>1</sup> The probable dates of the brasses of the Parys family in Cambridgeshire have been ascertained from a pedigree in Pembroke College Library, Cambridge, by A. W. Franks, Esq., and kindly communicated by him to the author.

<sup>m</sup> The girdles had often the initial of the wearer engraved on a metal pendant at their extremities. The girdle, and the basilard suspended from it, were

often the most expensive portions of the gentlemen's dress, being highly enriched with gold, silver, jewels, engraving, &c.

<sup>n</sup> "Franklein signifies literally a freeholder, a class noted for wealth and great possessions, yet not considered as gentle, or entitled to bear arms; nevertheless, according to Chaucer, of no little importance." Waller, pt. x.

c. 1380; Topcliff, Yorks.<sup>o</sup>, and Wimington, Beds., 1391; Boston, Lincolnshire, 1398; Northleach, c. 1400, and Chipping Campden, 1401, Gloucestershire.



A Civilian, c. 1390, formerly at Hereford Cathedral. P

A mutilated figure at Cheam, Surrey, c. 1370, and other civilians at St. Michael's, St. Albans, c. 1380 (?), at Stoke Fleming, Dorset, 1391, and Ore, Sussex, c. 1400, are destitute of the mantle: in the



A Civilian, c. 1380, King's Sombourne, Hants.

two last examples the bawdrick passes over the right shoulder. Richard Torrington, 1356, Great Berkhamstead, Herts.; a civilian, c. 1390, in the head of a

cross, lately at Hereford Cathedral; John Covesgrave, c. 1400, Eaton Socon, Beds.; and John Rede, 1404, Checkendon, Oxon., wear simply hoods and tunics, which is the usual costume of demi-figures: as at East Horsley, Surrey, c. 1380; the Temple Church, Bristol, 1396; Ickleford and Letchworth, Herts., and Lambourn, Berks., c. 1400. The four last have ornamented cuffs. The demi-figures of Raulin Brocas, c. 1360, Sherborne St. John's, Hants. (see the

<sup>o</sup> Another Flemish example, of the date 1376, formerly existed at St. Margaret's, Lynn, (see p. xx. note c.)

<sup>p</sup> The above engraving is copied from a rubbing taken at Hereford in August, 1843, and obligingly lent the author by the Rev. H. Addington, of Langford, Beds.; a portion of the shaft, about nineteen inches long, engraved with

small circles, also part of the inscription about seventeen inches in length, and bearing the words *DE SALUTE*, were then remaining. This is very likely the brass of the date 1393, mentioned in Rawlinson's History and Antiquities of the City and Cathedral, 1717 (p. 138), and by mistake conjectured to be that of Dean Harold.

engraving at page cxxxiv.), and Richard de Heylesdone, c. 1370, Hellesdon, Norfolk, are attired in still simpler costume, having merely close-fitting gowns over their under tunics.

The small figures at the sides of the canopies of the Flemish brasses at Lynn, Norfolk, and Newark, Notts., furnish further illustrations of costume. From these it appears that the edges of the mantle were often jagged, cut into the shape of leaves, &c., and that a kind of high crowned cap, and a short cloak open and buttoning in front, were also worn. One indication only perhaps occurs on brasses of the particoloured dresses so much in fashion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the tunic of Walter Pescod, at Boston, Lincolnshire, 1398, has his rebus, a peascod, sprinkled over the left side only.

*Ladies.* Seven brasses only remain to shew the female costume of the first half of the century: they are those of Margaret de Camoys, 1310, Trotton, Sussex; Joan de Cobham, c. 1320, Cobham, Kent; Alyne de Creke, c. 1325, Westley Waterless, Camb.; Maud de Bladigdone, c. 1325, (demi-figure), East Wickham, Kent; Joan de Northwode, c. 1330, Minster, Sheppy<sup>a</sup>; Lady Wantyng, 1347, Wimbish, Essex; and Margaret de Walsokne, 1349, Lynn, Norfolk, (Flemish).

All these, except the first two, are placed beside the figures of their husbands.

From these, the dress of the period



Margaret de Walsokne, 1349, Lynn, Norfolk.



Joan de Cobham, c. 1320, Cobham, Kent.

may be thus stated. The hair was parted on the forehead, and confined at each side of the face, usually in plaits; a gorget or

<sup>a</sup> The effigies at Westley Waterless, East Wickham, and Miuster are respectively engraved at pp. cli., cxxxv., xxiii.

wimple covered the neck, and was drawn up over the chin, strained up each side of the face, and generally fastened across the forehead, which was encircled with a fillet ornamented with jewels. Over the head a veil was thrown, which fell down upon the shoulders. The under dress consisted of a kirtle (which is richly embroidered on the brasses at Lynn), with tight sleeves and rows of buttons underneath; over this was worn a gown, either with close sleeves reaching to a little below the elbow; or else sleeveless, and with the sides of the body cut away<sup>r</sup>. Above all was sometimes worn a mantle or cloak, fastened in front of the shoulders by means of a cord, which usually passed through two metal loops with studs in front, termed *fermailes*, placed at each side of the mantle, and generally ornamented with jewels. The mantle occurs on the figures at Westley Waterless, Wimbish, and Lynn; the others are without it. Owing to the length of the upper gown and mantle, they were frequently gathered up under the arm, to prevent their trailing on the ground.

After the middle of the century, the head-dresses present the chief variety in the costume. The hair is still braided at the sides of the face: as at Southacre, Norfolk, 1384, (see the engraving at page clvii.); Dartmouth, Devon, 1403; and Baginton, Warwickshire, 1407. Johane Plessi, c. 1360, Quainton, Bucks., and Margaret Brocas, at Sherborne St. John's, Hants., c. 1360 (see page cxxxiv.), dying young and unmarried, have the hair flowing over the shoulders<sup>s</sup>. But the most common coiffure was a close cap with its front edges plaited, carried straight across the forehead, and down the sides of the face. Over this was frequently worn a veil or kerchief falling down on the back and shoulders; a good instance of this attire occurs at

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<sup>r</sup> See the figure of Alyne de Creke at p. cli. This garment, termed the *surcote ouverte*, appears to have originated from the small slits which may be seen in the brass at Minster, cut in the sleeveless gown, to allow the passage of the arms. These slits were probably enlarged until the sides of the skirt completely disappeared. These sideless dresses are apt to be mistaken for jackets edged with fur, but the appearance of the girdle of the kirtle through the side openings, and its disappearance behind the front of the dress, sufficiently shews the real character of these gar-

ments. Instances of this may be seen on brasses at Baginton, Warwickshire, 1407; Trotton, Sussex, 1419; Herne, Kent, c. 1420; Minehead, Somerset, 1440, &c. The flanches and flasques used in heraldry most probably originated from these sideless dresses. The dress of the lady at Minster may, perhaps, have been the French *surquayne*, or *sosquenie*, translated 'rockette' by Chaucer. See Planché's *British Costume*, 1846, p. 113.

<sup>s</sup> See the description of this peculiarity at the end of the account of ladies' costume in the fifteenth century.





Lady Elizabeth, Cornwall, c. 1370,  
Burford, Shropshire.

leach, Gloucestershire, c. 1400.

In the latter part of the century preposterous coiffures, which for the sake of distinction may be termed zigzag<sup>u</sup>, nebule, and reticulated head-dresses, made their appearance. They consisted of caul or close caps, in the last instance made of net-work, in which the hair was confined round the face, and sometimes allowed to fall on the shoulders also<sup>x</sup>; the ornamented fronts of the nebule and zigzag head-dresses which are seen on brasses are probably intended to represent frills. Towards the end of the century the nebule head-dress, usually with three rows of frills, was worn at the top only of the head and shoulders, as at Ore, Sussex, c. 1400 (see next page). About the same

Burford, Shropshire, c. 1370. The gorget, which is now very rarely found, occurs at Lynn, Norfolk, 1364, and Topcliffe, Yorks., 1391; but widows, in addition to the veil head-dress just described, wore under the chin a barbe or wimple, which was a kind of plaited gorget; a kirtle and mantle



Ellen Cerne, 1393-4, Draycot Cerne,  
Wilts.

completed the mourning habit<sup>t</sup>, of which we have good specimens at the close of the century, at Necton, Norfolk, 1383; Stebbing, Essex, c. 1390; Draycot Cerne, Wilts., 1393-4; Westminster Abbey, 1399; and North-



Nebule head-dress,  
Elizabeth de Ferrers, 1375,  
Ashford, Kent.

<sup>t</sup> See supra, p. lxxxix.

<sup>u</sup> See the engraving of Isabel Beaufort, at p. clxviii.

<sup>x</sup> Under the caul the small plaited cap is often found, which renders it probable that false hair, or some other

similar material, was used for stuffing these head-dresses. See the engraving in Hollis's *Mon. Effigies*, pt. ii., of the head-attire of Lady Montacute, 1354, at the Cathedral, Oxford.

time the reticulated head-dress became common; examples are at



Lady Cassy, 1400, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.

Wanlip, Leicestershire, 1393; Sheldwich, Kent, 1394; Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, 1400; and Goring, Oxon., 1401<sup>y</sup>.

The hair was frequently worn over the forehead only, especially when it was confined in cauls of golden or silver net-work termed *crestine*, or *crestine*<sup>z</sup>, ornamented with jewels at the intersection; a small kerchief was also pinned at the top of the head and depended behind: of this style of head-dress we have instances at Stoke Fleming, Devon, 1391; Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, 1392; Wrentham, Suffolk, 1400; Shottesbroke, Berks., 1401, &c. With all these, except the veil head-dress, jewelled fillets were generally worn across the forehead.



Head, Lady at Ore, Sussex, c. 1400.

Stoke Fleming, Devon, 1391; Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, 1392; Wrentham, Suffolk, 1400;



Head, Lady Berkeley, 1392, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire.

Shottesbroke, Berks., 1401, &c. With all these, except the veil head-dress, jewelled fillets were generally worn across the forehead.

The other portions of the dress of ladies underwent less change. Mantles were frequently worn; the kirtle had close sleeves reaching usually to the knuckles, and buttoned underneath as far as the elbow, and sometimes to the shoulder; it was rarely confined by the girdle.



Isabel Beaufort, c. 1370, Waterperry, Oxon.

Occasionally it was worn alone, by young ladies, as at Quanton, Bucks., c. 1360; Stoke Fleming, Devonshire, 1391, &c.: but more frequently under another gown or cote-hardie, which had sometimes pockets in front, (Burford, Shropshire, c. 1370; Winterbourne, Gloucestershire, c. 1370<sup>a</sup>) and always close sleeves, either reaching

<sup>y</sup> Engraved with the description of ladies of the fifteenth century.

<sup>z</sup> Planché, *Brit. Cost.*, p. 117.

<sup>a</sup> Another example is one of the small

figures on the brass at Newark, Notts., 1361; a fourth was at Ingham, Norfolk, 1364-5.

to the wrists, or terminating above the elbows, with long lappets, or *tippets*, hanging from thence: as at Great Berkhamstead, Herts., 1356; Waterpery, Oxon., c. 1370; Necton, Norfolk, 1372; Bray, Berks., 1378. The sideless dress was also in very common use<sup>b</sup>, it was generally edged with fur at the openings; (Lingfield, Surrey, c. 1370; Wanlip, Leicestershire, 1393; Stoke, Suffolk, c. 1400), and occasionally slit up at the sides of the skirt, (Ashford and Cobham, Kent, 1375).

All these dresses were low and square at the neck, fitted tight to the body, and had frequently flounces of fur at the feet, and rows of buttons, or jewels, &c., up the front of the body. The kirtle and cote-hardie were sometimes buttoned from the neck to the feet, as at Chinnor, Oxon., c. 1380; Ore, Sussex, c. 1400; Ware, Herts., c. 1400; Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire, 1401. The feet were generally very small, with pointed toes<sup>c</sup>.



Lady Cobham, c. 1370,  
Lingfield, Surrey<sup>d</sup>

<sup>b</sup> See the engravings from brasses at Sherborne St. John's, Hants., c. 1360, and Ashford, Kent, 1375, at pp. cxxiv., clxvii.

<sup>c</sup> The following is a list of a few figures of ladies in the latter half of this century, which may be added to those seen on the brasses of the knights and civilians (especially the latter) which have recently been noticed:—

c. 1360. A widow (?), demi-figure, Clifton Campville, Staffordshire.

c. 1360. A lady, Great Berkhamstead, Herts.

c. 1370. Lady Cobham, Lingfield, Surrey.

c. 1370. Isabel Beaufo, Waterpery, Oxon.

c. 1370. — Bradstone, Winterbourne, Gloucestershire.

c. 1370. Elizth. Cornwall, Burford, Salop.

1372. Ismayne de Wynston, Necton, Norfolk.

1375. Elizth. de Ferrers, Ashford, Kent.

c. 1380. A demi-figure, Chinnor, Oxon.

1379-80. Maud de Cobham, Cobham, Kent.

1383. Philippa de Beauchamp, Necton, Norfolk.

c. 1390. A lady, Stebbing, Essex.

1391. Lady Margt. Willoughby D'Eresby, Spilsby, Lincolnshire.

1395. Margt. de Cobham, Cobham, Kent.

1399. Eleanor de Bohun, Westminster Abbey.

1400. Ele Bowet, Wrentham, Suffolk.

c. 1400. A lady, Ware, Herts.

<sup>d</sup> This brass may commemorate Joan, Lady Cobham, widow of Sir Reginald de Cobham who died in 1362; she deceased in 1369, and directed her body to be buried at St. Mary Overy's, Southwark, under a *plain* marble stone, perhaps because she had this monument already at Lingfield. See Test. Vetusta, p. 81. The coiffure surrounding the face is now lost, except a small portion, which is enough to shew that it was of a peculiar character, probably resembling that represented in the illustration.

## FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

HEN. IV., 1399—1413; HEN. V., 1413—1422; HEN. VI., 1422—1461; ED. IV., 1461—1483; ED. V., RICH. III., 1483—1485; HEN. VII., 1485—1509.

*General Remarks.* The brasses of the early part of this century are remarkable for the carefulness<sup>e</sup> and delicacy of their execution. Cross shading was now employed to represent the folds of the drapery; accordingly, the bold and swelling lines by which they were expressed before became unnecessary, and were superseded by others of a finer character. About the year 1430 the art of engraving appears to have reached its utmost perfection, the brasses of that date being surpassed by none in either beauty of design or excellence of workmanship. After the middle of the century a greater stiffness in the figures is perceptible, as well as a gradual increase of shading injudiciously introduced. Hitherto the execution of contemporaneous brasses was nearly uniform in goodness; but towards the end of the century a much greater diversity of merit and style of engraving begins to be apparent, owing chiefly to the settling of provincial artists in Norfolk and elsewhere<sup>f</sup>: several brasses, especially those of persons lower in rank, being coarse and indifferent performances.

The figures are now generally of smaller size than those of the preceding century, and in a standing posture: the ground beneath them is engraved with flowers, or shaded in lozenge-shaped divisions<sup>g</sup>. The cushions<sup>h</sup> and the animals, on which their head and feet respectively rested, are rarely found, except on the brasses of knights, whose heads are frequently supported on tilting helmets, and their feet on lions or dogs, or on their crests, if consisting of some animal<sup>i</sup>. Lions are seldom placed at the feet after 1460; instances may be seen at Strelly, Notts., 1487; Lullingstone, Kent,

<sup>e</sup> For instance, the extraneous background is usually cut away, which was commonly left between the arms and the body, the legs, or the knight's sword and his legs, &c.

<sup>f</sup> See *supra*, pp. xxviii., xxix.

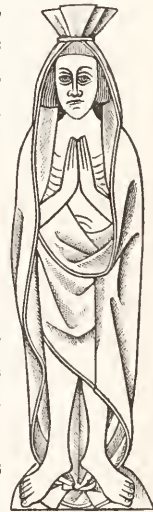
<sup>g</sup> See the engraving at p. cxiii.

<sup>h</sup> A good instance is at Hever, Kent, 1419. Cushions are more common on incised slabs.

<sup>i</sup> See *supra*, p. cxiii.

1487; Lillingstone Lovell, Oxon., 1491, &c. The introduction of the wired, or butterfly head-dress, c. 1470, which was worn entirely at the back of the head, and consequently could not be delineated so as to display its fair proportions<sup>k</sup>, except in profile, made it necessary to represent female figures in this attire, as standing sideways. The wife being thus turned towards her husband, common courtesies required him to be placed in a similar posture; and such at the close of the century became the frequent attitude of single figures of all classes, excepting, as might be expected, priests<sup>l</sup>. About the same period mural brasses with kneeling figures first appear<sup>m</sup>; early instances are at Brightwell-Baldwin, Oxon., 1439; East Horsley, 1478, Pepperharrow, 1487, Surrey. The hands also, especially those of ladies and on the brasses of provincial artists, are sometimes raised and held apart at each side of the breast, as at Boston, c. 1400, Spilsby, c. 1410, Lincolnshire; Herne, Kent, 1470; St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, c. 1480; Iselham, Camb., 1484; Blickling, 1485, Stokesby, 1488, and Ditchingham, 1490, Norfolk<sup>n</sup>.

All these changes, which were more fully developed in the following centuries, tended to give more life to the figure; but we find that the contrary principle was also adopted, and the deceased portrayed as enveloped in a Shroud, often with closed eyes, and sometimes emaciated, or as a skeleton. Early examples are at Sheldwich, Kent, 1431, Taplow, Bucks., 1455 (shrouded figures); Margate, Kent, 1446, St. Lawrence's, Norwich, 1452 (skeletons), &c. Figures in shrouds rising from their tombs are at Lavenham, Suffolk, 1486; Childrey, Berks., c. 1530°. Demi-figures, except those of priests,



Robt. Alee, 1518, in Shroud, Dunstable, Beds.

<sup>k</sup> See the engraving, infra, of the brass of Ann Playters, 1479, Sotherley, Suffolk.

<sup>l</sup> Figures in the fourteenth century are sometimes slightly inclined to one side; as at Wimbish, Essex, 1347. In brasses by Norfolk artists, the male effigy is rarely turned sideways in this century.

<sup>m</sup> See supra, p. xxi.

<sup>n</sup> Examples in the sixteenth century

are at Humstanton, Norfolk, 1506; Dunstable, Beds., 1516; Winwick, Lancashire, 1527 (see the engraving at p. xci.); Christ's Coll., Cambridge, c. 1540, &c. At Iselham, Cambridgeshire, 1516, are two hands uplifted, one on either side of a cross, which is now lost.

<sup>o</sup> The fashion of representing the deceased in a shroud was no doubt introduced into England from the Continent, where they were in use as early as the

are of rare occurrence after 1450; instances, of the dates 1476, c. 1480, are at Halesworth, Suffolk, and Newington near Hythe, Kent.

Small figures of Children were now frequently placed beneath those of their parents: early instances are at Ashby St. Legers, 1416, Northants., and Linwood, Lincolnshire, 1419, where the children have small canopies over them. At Beddington, Surrey, beneath the figure of Philippa Carreu, 1414, are thirteen demi-figures of her brothers and sisters, with their names subscribed. The sons are usually ranged under their father, and the daughters under their mother: (see engravings at pages xlix., xciii.) Sometimes the children stand beside their parents; for instance, at Cobham, Kent, 1407; Trotton, Sussex, 1419; Pelham Furneux, c. 1420, and North Mimms, 1458, Herts., &c. When the effigies are kneeling, the children are placed behind their parents. The elder children are sometimes represented in the proper costume of their profession, as ecclesiastics, &c.: examples are at Wendon Lofts, Essex, c. 1450; Quethioc, Cornwall, 1471; Church Oakley, Hants., 1487, &c. <sup>p</sup>

beginning of the fourteenth century (e. g. Bruges, 1339). In the continental figures the top of the shroud was generally drawn over the eyes, the hands crossed in front of the body and concealed by the drapery. The following is a list of shrouded and skeleton figures in the fifteenth century:—Sheldwich, 1431, St. John's, Margate, 1446, Kent; St. Laurence's, Norwich, 1452; Taplow, Bucks., 1455; Brampton, Norfolk, 1468 (?); Litchett Maltravers, Dorset, c. 1470; New College, Oxford, 1472; Upton, Bucks. (?), 1472; Hitchin, Herts., 1477, 1481 (?), 1485, c. 1490; Stifford, Essex, c. 1480; Sawbridge-worth, Digsweil, 1484, Herts.; Yoxford, 1485, Lavenham, 1486, Suffolk; Sherborne St. John's, Hants., 1488 (?); Hunsdon, Herts., 1495; Great Haseley, Oxon., 1497; Aylsham, Norfolk, c. 1490, 1499; Sawston, Camb., Clifton Reynes, Bucks., Burton Latimer, Northants., c. 1500.

<sup>p</sup> See *supra*, p. lxxiv. note d, and p. lxxvii. From the number of children frequently paraded on brasses of this century, and even more so in the following, when chivalry was still more in decline, our forefathers seem to have been of the same mind as the Persians. Ἀνδραγαθίη δ' αὐτῆ ἀποδέκεται, μετὰ τὸ

μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθὸν, ὃς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι, δῶρα ἐκπέμπει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. Herod. i. 136. Large families of children are at Denham, Bucks., 1494, on the brass of Walter Duredent, Esq., who had twenty-six children, nine sons and ten daughters by his first wife, and three sons and four daughters by his second; at Burnham, Bucks., c. 1500, nine sons and fifteen daughters; and at St. Mellion's, Cornwall, 1551, seventeen sons and seven daughters. Some absurd traditions are sometimes related concerning the figures of children on brasses. On the brass of Thomas Bonham and wife, 1473, 1469, at Great Wishford, Wilts., were the figures of nine (seven?) children, of which three only now remain. It is said that Bonham and his wife had seven children at one birth, and that he went abroad for seven years as a pilgrim, lest his family should increase too fast, and it was agreed that if he and his wife did not hear of each other by that time, they might marry again. The time was just expiring, and the lady was on the point of marriage, when the news was made known to him, as report says, by a witch who conveyed him home in-

At the close of the century single brasses of children are found; as at Pulborough, Sussex, 1478; Blickling, Norfolk, 1479; and Stanford Rivers, Essex, 1492, (a chrysom child?) &c.

Floriated Crosses, enclosing figures in their heads, occur at the commencement of the century: beautiful examples remain at Buxted, Sussex, and Stone, Kent (see the engraving on the next page), both of the date 1408<sup>q</sup>. But the more usual form is that of a simple Latin cross rising from three or four grises, or steps, as at Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1400 (see the engraving on page clxxv.); and usually with fleury extremities to the cross-arms, as at Cassington, Oxon., 1414<sup>r</sup> (see the engraving on page clxxv.); Broadwater, Sussex, 1415? St. Mary's, Reading, 1416 (much mutilated); Beddington, Surrey, 1425; and Pepper-Harrow, Surrey, 1487. Bracket-brasses are not uncommon in the earlier part of the century: instances may be seen at Upper Hardres, Kent, 1405; at Cotterstock, Northants., 1420, and Cobham, Kent, c. 1420, both priests in copes under canopies;

stantly, and he found his wife was to be married next day. He was denied admittance, for he had not shaved himself during the whole time of his absence, and no one remembered his person until he produced the ring they had broken. He was then introduced to his wife, and at the next birth she had seven children. See Hoare's Hist. of

Modern Wiltshire, Hundred of Branch and Dole, p. 48. In the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, No. viii. p. 173, is an engraving of a brass formerly at Dunstable, Beds., and commemorating Wm. Mulso and wife (1457-8?), with nineteen children; the epitaph is thus given in the Topographer and Genealogist, vol. i. p. 69:—

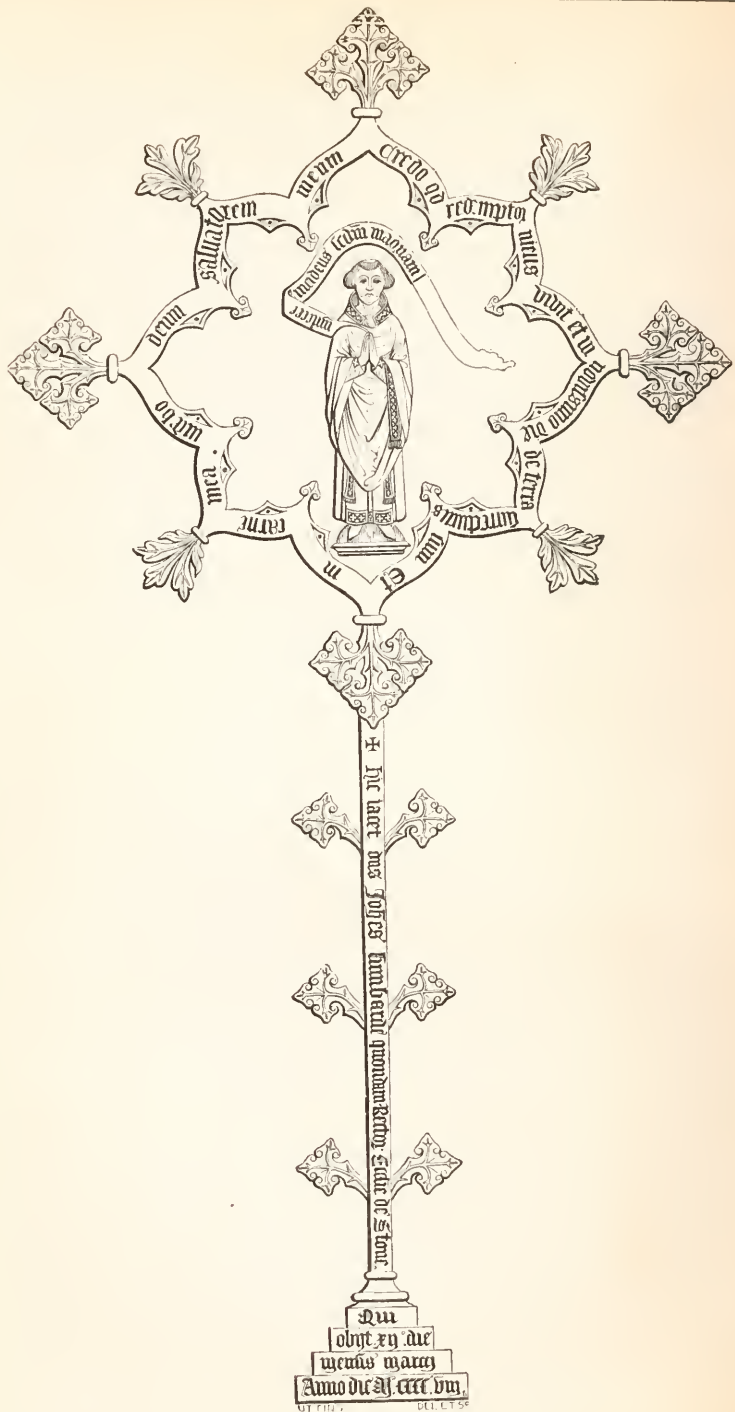
Hic William Mulso sibi quem sociavit et Alis  
 Marmore sub duro conclusit sors generalis,  
 Ter tres, his quinos, hic (*lege hec*) natos fertur habere  
 Per sponso binos, Deus his clemens miserere.

In the Bib. Topog. Britannica, 'hec' is substituted for 'hic,' and 'sponso binas' for 'sponso binos.' The meaning clearly is that either the father had the children by two wives, or the mother was the parent of them by two husbands. The latter explanation, together with a curious mistranslation of the inscription, has been adopted by Dr. Geo. Hakewill, in his "Apologie or Declaration of the power and providence of God in the government of the World," London, 1635, lib. iii. ch. 5, § 9, p. 253. "Neither can I call to minde," writes the author, "any example in all antiquity parallel to that of a woman buried in the church at *Dunstable*, who (as her *epitaph* testifies) bore at three severall times, 3 children at a birth, and five at a birth

two other times."

<sup>q</sup> Part of the stem and a single finial of a brass of this kind remain at Cobham, Kent, to John Gerrye, priest in cope, 1447.

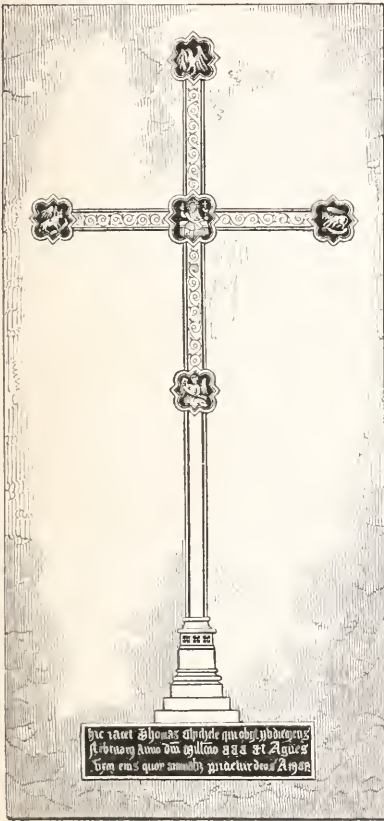
<sup>r</sup> The sinister arm of the cross is mutilated in the original. Roger Cheyne was the son of Wm. Cheyne, Esq., whose brass remains at Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks., upon whose decease, in 1375, he apparently became possessed of the manor of Drayton Beauchamp; he also held the manor of Cassington as belonging to the honour of Wallingford. In 1404 he was sheriff of Bucks., and he seems to have died in 1414. For the above information the author is indebted to the Rev. W. H. Kelke, Vicar of Drayton Beauchamp.



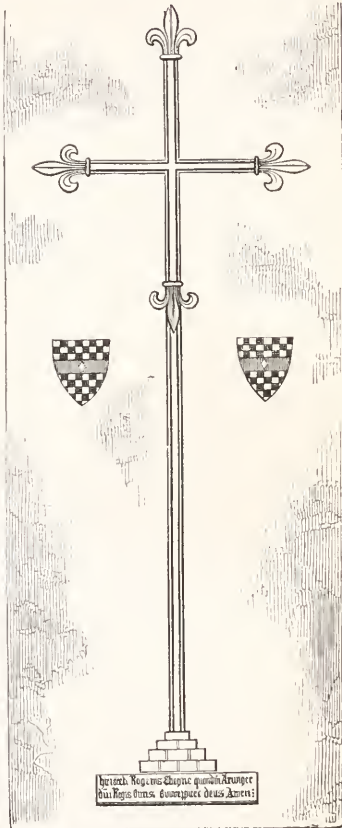
John Lumbarde, Rector, 1408, Stone, Kent



at Merton College Chapel, Oxford, c. 1420 (see the engraving at page lxxxiii.); Great Harrowden, Northants., 1433; Burford, Oxon.,



Brass of Thomas Chichele and wife, 1400,  
Higham Ferrers, Northants



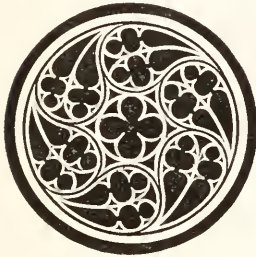
Brass of Roger Cheyne, Esq.,  
c. 1415, Cassington, Oxon.

and St. Laurence's, Norwich, 1437. Later examples are to be found on brasses engraved by Norfolk artists, e.g. Hunstanton, 1506, St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich, 1524, 1525.

At Chelsfield, Kent, the memorial of Robert de Brun, priest, 1417, is a small crucifix, with the figures of SS. Mary and John, now much mutilated, and above a scroll inscribed *Salus mea xpe est*.

Although many large and beautiful Canopies of this century remain, few (e.g. Balsham, Camb., 1462; Tattershall, Lincolnshire, 1479) have their buttresses composed of saints in niches, double

side-shafts connected with arches being substituted, as at Playford, Suffolk, 1400, and Cowfold, Sussex, 1433. Figures of saints, however, are often judiciously introduced into the upper part of the design, either supported on brackets attached to the pediment, or serving as a finial to it. Shields are frequently very tastefully represented as suspended by straps to crockets on the side-shafts, or beneath the finials of the canopy. Groining, although often seen at the beginning of the century, as at Haddenham and Iselham, Cambridgeshire, 1405, 1451 (?); Faversham, Kent, 1414, and Merton College Chapel, Oxford, c. 1420<sup>s</sup>, does not become general until c. 1470. In the early part of the century the canopies are often of a trefoiled ogee shape, with pendants composed of lions' faces, and



Circle in pediment of canopy,  
Stoke-by-Nayland Suffolk, 1436<sup>7</sup>

the pediments filled with foliage; ornamented circles in the centres, and trefoil slips in the spandrils of the cusps, &c., became frequent decorations of pediments, especially those of



Rose in pediment of canopy,  
Graveney, Kent, 1439.

about the date 1430. The usual soffit

moulding of quatrefoils is sometimes now carried down the side-shafts. A rose, with four petals and four barbs, is often found in the centre of pediments c. 1440. The very fine canopy on the brass of William Prestwyk, 1436, at Warbleton, Sussex (see the engraving on the opposite page), is a good instance of the style of this date. The fine canopies, with embattled entablatures or super-canopies over the pediments, at New College, Oxford, 1417; Trotton, 1419, Arundel, 1430, Sussex; Upwell, Norfolk, 1428; Hereford Cathedral, 1435; Ilminster, Somerset, c. 1440, deserve a special notice. Towards the end of the century the crockets are of a heavy and debased character<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> See the engraving at p. lxxxiii.

<sup>t</sup> At the following places are good instances of canopies:—

*Single*:— Hurstmonceaux, Sussex, 1402; Cobham, 1405, 1407, Faversham, 1414, Kent; Great Fransham, Norfolk, 1414; Horley, Surrey, c. 1415; Ashby St. Legers, Northants., 1416; Gunby,

Lincolnshire, 1419; Ulcomb, Kent, 1419; Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, 1420; Cotterstock, Northants., 1420; East Anthony, Cornwall, 1420; Lingfield, Surrey, 1420; Linwood, Lincolnshire, 1421; Pulborough, Sussex, 1423; Goudhurst, Kent, 1424 (?); Thurcaston, Leicestershire, 1425; Great Bromley,

† bellas p. r. d. r. mundi vana cultura plantis: inq. uis tunc

†. r. ter duobus p. r. d. r. mundi vana cultura plantis: inq. uis tunc

†. r. ter duobus p. r. d. r. mundi vana cultura plantis: inq. uis tunc

†. r. ter duobus p. r. d. r. mundi vana cultura plantis: inq. uis tunc

†. r. ter duobus p. r. d. r. mundi vana cultura plantis: inq. uis tunc



William Frestwyk, 1436, Warbleton, Sussex.

Brasses consisting of single devices, as hearts, chalices, are not unfrequently met with in this century, especially in Norfolk <sup>u</sup>.

Inscriptions are now common in raised letters. This is particularly the case in marginal inscriptions c. 1400—1410, which consist of few words, with the spaces between each occupied by foliage, figures of animals, &c. Curious devices of this sort are on marginal inscriptions at Deerhurst, 1400, Northleach, 1447, and Tormarton, 1493, Gloucestershire; Enfield, Middx., 1446 (c. 1475?), and Chaddesley Corbet, Worcestershire, c. 1520. After the year 1470 the letters are often crowded close together; and at the end of the century the inscriptions of the provincial artists are distinguishable by the difference of the characters; the letter O, for instance, in 'Orate,' at the beginning of inscriptions in Norfolk and the neighbourhood, is very characteristic of the local engravers.



Part of an Inscription,  
Eedenham, Norfolk, 1502.

Inscriptions in Norman-French are very rarely found after 1420; an example of this date is at Warkworth, Northants.; another, as late as 1453, is, or was, at Cheshunt, Herts. Lombardic capitals also dis-

Essex, 1432; Royston, Herts., 1432; Broadwater, Sussex, 1432; Brabourne, Kent, 1434? Warbleton, Sussex, 1436; Cirencester, 1438, Queinton, c. 1440, Gloucestershire; Minehead, Somerset, 1440; West Grinstead, Sussex, c. 1440; Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1458; Balsam, 1462, Hildersham, 1466, Camb.; Harrow, Middx., 1468; Long Melford, Suffolk, c. 1480.

*Double*:—Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, 1401; Dartford, Kent, 1402; Gunby, Lincolnshire, c. 1405; Addington, Kent, 1409; Burgate, Suffolk, 1409; Great Tew, Oxon., 1410; Routh, Yorks., c. 1410; Wixford, Warwickshire, 1411; Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1416; Harpham, Yorks., 1418; Linwood, Lincolnshire, 1419; Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1425; Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk, 1426; Lydd, Kent, 1430; Arndel, Sussex, 1430; Beddington, Surrey, 1432; Ingham, Norfolk, 1432; Hereford Cathedral, 1435; Graveney, Kent, 1436; Baldwin Brightwell, Oxon., 1439; Cirencester, Gloucestershire, 1440; Pelham Furneux, Herts., c. 1440; West Grinstead, Sussex, 1441; Childrey, Berks., 1444; Iselham, Camb., 1451; Castle Donington, Leicestershire, 1458;

St. Andrew's, Norwich, 1467; St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, c. 1480; Chenies, Bucks., 1484; Charwelton, c. 1490, Ashby St. Legers, 1494, Northants.; Cowthorpe, Yorks., 1494; Carshalton, Surrey, 1497.

*Triple*:—Balsam, Camb., 1401; Dartmouth, Devon, 1403; Bottesford, Leicestershire, 1404; Checkendon, Oxon., 1404; Thrupton, Hants., 1407; St. John's Coll., Cambridge, c. 1410; Spilsby, Lincolnshire, c. 1410; Little Horkeley, Essex, 1412; Kidderminster, Worcestershire, 1415; New Coll., Oxford, 1417; Upwell, Norfolk, 1428; Acton, Suffolk, c. 1430; Cowfold, Sussex, 1433; Bromham, Beds., 1435; Ilminster, Somerset, c. 1440; Etchingam, Sussex, 1444; Enfield, Middx., 1446; Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1447; Cheshunt, Herts., 1448; St. Alban's Abbey, 1451; Ingham, Norfolk, 1466; Merton Coll., Oxford, 1471; Iselham, Camb., 1484; Luton, Beds., c. 1490; Winwick, Lancashire, 1492; Ightfield, Salop, c. 1495; Carlisle Cathedral, 1496; Westminster Abbey, 1498.

*Quadruple*:—Thornton, Bucks., 1472.

<sup>u</sup> See supra, p. cxxv.

appeared about the same time; occasional instances may be met with as late as the sixteenth century, e. g. St. Mary's Coslany, Norwich, 1518; Faversham, Kent, 1531. Arabic numerals first made their appearance on inscriptions at the middle of the century, and were chiefly used to save room, but they did not come into general use until the latter end of the next; early examples are the following: Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1447; Ware, Herts., 1454; Thornton, Bucks., 1472; Lullingstone, Kent, 1487; All Hallows' Barking, London, 1489; Fressingfield, Suffolk, 1489; Houghton Conquest, Beds., 1493; St. Stephen's, Norwich, 1498<sup>x</sup>. English inscriptions are occasionally met with throughout the century; as at Holmby-the-Sea, c. 1400, Frettenham, c. 1420, Norfolk, and Burford, 1437, Oxon.; but Latin is the prevalent language. Short sentences, such as those in use in the fourteenth century, especially the three quoted above (pages cxl., cxli.), are frequently inscribed on scrolls usually issuing from the mouths of the effigies; also brief ejaculations sometimes addressed to figures above, of which the following are most common:—

*Sancta Trinitas unus Deus miserere nobis.*

*Pater de celis Deus miserere nobis.*

*Spiritus sancte Deus miserere nobis.*

*Iesu fili Dei miserere mei.*

*Mater Dei memento mei.*

*Bone Iesu esto michi Iesus.*

*Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.*

*Misericordias Domini in eternum cantabo.*

*Quinque vulnera Dei sunt medicina mei.*

*Credo videre bona Domini in terra viventium.*

“*Iesu mercy*” and “*Edy help*” are often placed on small scrolls at the corners of the slab; or the slab is “powdered” with them; as at St. Mary's, Reading, Berks., 1416, and Wiston, Sussex, 1426; the latter brass has thirty-one such scrolls.

In this century also various sets of verses were introduced, such as that at Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1458, (see page xcii.): the following appear to have been favourites:—

<sup>x</sup> Examples in the beginning of the sixteenth century are at Cheriton, Kent, 1502; Merton College Chapel, Oxford, 1510; Loddon, Norfolk, 1513 or 18;

St. Michael's Coslany, Norwich, 1515; Biddenden, Kent, 1452, 1499 (engraved c. 1520); Eton College Chapel, 1535, &c.

The four Latin lines on the roses at St. Alban's Abbey and Ashridge House, and the English translation<sup>y</sup>, which is given rather differently on a brass of the date 1584, at St. Olave's, Hart-street, London:—

As I was so be ye  
as I am you shall be  
That I gave that I have  
that I spent that I had  
Thus I ende all my coste  
that I left that I loste<sup>z</sup>.

The same idea is conveyed in different words on the brass of Richard Adane and wife, Kelshall, Herts.:—

Her' lyth the bones of Rycharde Adane & Maryon hys wyff  
God graunt her soules eu'lastyng lyff  
The which Rycharde dyed . . . . .  
En ye per' of our lord M<sup>o</sup>.CCCC<sup>o</sup> . . . . .  
The which Rycharde Adane as y now say:  
Icyd yys stoñ be hys lyff day  
The per' of our lord was pan truly  
M<sup>o</sup>.CCCC<sup>o</sup>. fybe & thyrty.  
Man ye be houchth ofte to habe in mynde  
That you greest w<sup>t</sup> yyr honde pat shalt you fynde,  
ffor wōmen ben slowful & chyldren bey unkynde  
Executors bey coucutous & kepte all- y<sup>t</sup> yey fynde;  
ffor our bope soules unto y<sup>e</sup> t'nyte  
sepyth<sup>r</sup> a pat' nī for charite<sup>a</sup>.

The next inscription, on a brass at Northleach, Gloucestershire, c. 1485, appears to have been frequently used on epitaphs:—

<sup>y</sup> See supra, p. cx. The Latin lines are incorrectly (?) printed in Weever's Fun. Mon., p. 607, from the inscription to Rich. Bowrd, 1432, at Prittlewell, Essex; they were "engrauen in a trewe Loues knot."

<sup>z</sup> The same verses were to be found on the gravestone of Robt. Byrkes, 1579, at Doncaster, Yorkshire (Archæologia Eliana, vol. iii. p. 119); on the tomb of Wm. Lamb (the founder of Lamb's Conduit), in the crypt of Old St. Paul's, London (Antiq. Repertory, vol. i. p. 369, ed. 1807); also on the tomb of Edw. Courtenay, third Earl of Devon, 1419, in Tiverton Church, Devon; at Westminster Abbey, 1680, and St. Stephen's, Ipswich, 1731. See Pettigrew's Chronicles of the Tombs, 1857, p. 74. Addison, in the "Spectator," No. 177, alludes to these inscriptions, and quotes Proverbs xix. 17, St. Matt. xxv. 31, seq.

<sup>a</sup> A similar inscription was on the brass of Rich. Stokys and wife, at Hampton-in-Arden, Warwickshire. See Gent. Mag., 1795, pt. ii. p. 988. It also occurs at Wrangle, Lincolnshire, 1503:—

They for man when ye [wind blows  
Make the mill grind;  
And eber thine own soul  
Have thou in mind  
That thou givest with] thy hand  
That shalt thou fynde,  
And y<sup>t</sup> thou icyys thy Executors  
Comys far behinde.  
Do for youre selfe  
Thilk ye have space  
To pray Jhu of m'cy and grace.  
En heben to habe a place.

See Churches of Lincolnshire, p. 19. The words in brackets are now lost.

farewell' my frendes, the tyde abideth no man,  
 I am departed from hense and so shall' ye,  
 But in this passage the best songe that I can  
 Es requiem eternam now: Ihu graunte it me,  
 When I haue ended' all myn aduersite,  
 Graunte me in paradise to haue a mansion,  
 That shed thy blode for my redemption<sup>b</sup>.

The ordinary inscriptions were in the usual simple form; at the latter part of the century they sometimes end with "for whose soul for charity say a pater noster and an ave." On the inscriptions of the higher classes, long leonine verses are often found, and a few particulars relative to the deceased, such as the maiden name of the wife.

*Ecclesiastics.* Of these, numerous instances remain, especially demi-figures. The chief peculiarities of the eucharistical vestments are, that the chasubles are for the most part entirely plain; and the ends of the stole and maniple are of equal breadth with the centre, (see the figure at Stone, Kent, engraved at p. clxxiv.) These two vestments, and the apparels of the amice and albe, in the first half of the century are usually ornamented with quatrefoils or



Rich. Roston, 1457, lately at Wornley, Herts.<sup>c</sup>



Apparels, &c., brass at Hoo, Kent, 1412.

roundels in relief<sup>d</sup>; the peculiar four-leaved flower at Hoo, Kent, is a characteristic ornament at the beginning of the century, (see the annexed engraving): in the latter half, the hair, which before was waved, becomes straighter; the ornament of the apparels is generally a diaper of lozenge-shaped divisions quatrefoiled (see the engraving at page lxiv.), and chalices, with or without wafers, are more frequently held in the hands<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> The same occurs with slight variations at Royston, Herts., and according to Weever it was at Baldock in the same county; at Maldon and Romford, Essex; and at St. Martin's, Ludgate, London (Fun. Mon., pp. 545, 610, 649, 387).

<sup>c</sup> The peculiarly waved line of the tonsure is only found on brasses c.

1450—1460.

<sup>d</sup> The incisions were originally filled with colouring matter. Mitten sleeves of the under dress are still visible on figures as late as 1420.

<sup>e</sup> The following is a list of some good examples:—

c.1400. John Waleys, demi-figure, Houghton Regis, Beds.

Members of the numerous collegiate establishments are now regularly represented in processional vestments; the surplice is worn shorter, as at Chartham, Kent, 1416, but in some cases, as late as c. 1440, e.g. Warbleton, Sussex, 1436, it covers the feet (see the engravings at pages lxxvi., clxxvii.), and the almuce has a cape attached to it. The orphreys of the copes in large figures are often enriched with saints, of which there are several fine examples in this century. In smaller ones, during the first half of the century, the ornaments consist of foliated circles or lozenges, containing leaves, flowers (especially the rose with four petals and barbs), leopards' faces, &c., often alternating



Orphrey, &c., brass at Havant, Hants., 1413.

- c. 1400. A Priest, Stanford, Notts.  
 1404. John Vynter, Clothall, Herts.  
 1407. Wm. de Thorp, West Wickham, Kent.  
 1408. Britell Avenel, demi-figure in cross, Buxted, Sussex.  
 1408. John Lumbarde, in cross, Stone, Kent.  
 1408. Rich. Thorp, demi-figure, Stanwell, Middx.  
 1410. John Balsam, Blisland, Cornwall.  
 c. 1410. John Mordon, alias Andrew, Emberton, Bucks.  
 c. 1410. John Broun, demi-figure, Hoo, Kent.  
 1412. Rich. Bayly, Hoo, Kent.  
 1412. Robt. Scarclyf, Shere, Surrey.  
 1413. John Everdon, demi-figure, Twyford, Bucks.  
 1414. Ralph Shelley, demi-figure, Great Leigh, Essex.  
 c. 1420. Robt. Fyn, Little Easton, Essex.  
 c. 1420 (?). Walter Davy, demi-figure, Poling, Sussex.  
 c. 1420. A Priest, Haddenham, Bucks.  
 c. 1420. Thos. Boyd (Byrd?), Saffron Walden, Essex.  
 1424. Robt. Willardsey, in private possession.  
 1426. Wm. Hewet, Newton Broms- hold, Northants.  
 1430. John Grymston, demi-figure, Beachamwell, Norfolk.  
 c. 1430. A Priest, Polstead, Suffolk.  
 c. 1430 (?). Robt. Clere, Battle, Sussex.  
 1431. Edw. Cranford, Puttenham, Surrey.  
 1431. Robt. Blundell, Monks Risborough, Bucks.  
 1432. Wm. Bischopton, Great Bromley, Essex.  
 1433. John Churmound, Little Wittenham, Berks.  
 1445. John Wyche, demi-figure, Lingfield, Surrey.  
 145-. Roger Gery, Whitechurch, Oxon.  
 c. 1450. Wm. Carbrok, demi-figure, Wilshamstead, Beds.  
 c. 1450. A demi-figure, Great Greenford, Middx.  
 1451. Wm. Gysborne, demi-figure, Farningham, Kent.  
 1455. John Baker, Arundel, Sussex.  
 1456. Wm. Moor, Tattershali, Lincolnshire.  
 1457. John Braydforde, demi-figure, Lewes, Sussex.  
 1458. John Bradstane, demi-figure, Ewelme, Oxon.  
 c. 1460. A demi-figure, Upton-Lovell, Wilts.  
 c. 1460. A Priest, Monkton, Thanet.  
 c. 1460. A Priest, Broxbourne, Herts.  
 1461. Robt. Loud, St. Peter's, Bristol.  
 1467. Henry Morecote, demi-figure, Ewelme, Oxon.  
 c. 1480. A Priest, Childrey, Berks.  
 c. 1480. A Priest, Laindon, Essex.  
 1482. Rich. Kegell, Ringstead, Norfolk.  
 1498. Wm. Branwhait, demi-figure, Ewelme, Oxon.  
 1498. Hen. Deuton, Higham Ferrers, Northants.



with initials. The orphreys of the copes of Thos. Aileward, 1413, Havant, Hants., and Robt. Thurbern, 1450, Winchester College Chapel (see p. lxxvii.), are good instances of this mode of decoration. In the latter part of the century the foliage is larger, and the circles, &c., omitted; the jewel pattern, and the lozenge-shaped diaper, are also frequent modes of decoration; the latter, however, is also found on early examples of both classes of vestments<sup>f</sup>. Priests in academical robes are not unfrequent.

<sup>f</sup> Good examples of priests in processional vestments are the following:—

- c. 1400. A Priest, with saints on orphrey of cope, Boston, Lincolnshire.  
 c. 1400. A demi-figure, South Creak, Norfolk.  
 1401. John de Sleaford, with saints, &c., Balsham, Camb.  
 1401. Wm. Ermyn, with saints, &c., Castle Ashby, Northants.  
 1403. Rich. Malford, New College, Oxford.  
 1404. Henry de Codynngtoun, with saints, &c., Bottesford, Leicestershire.  
 1411. Thos. Clerke, Horsham, Sussex.  
 1411. Thos. P'attles, Great Shelford, Camb.  
 1413. Wm. Langeton, Exeter Cathedral.  
 1413. Thos. Aileward, Havant, Hants.  
 1414. Simon Bache, Knebworth, Herts.  
 1414. John Oudeby, Flamstead, Herts.  
 1416. Robt. London, Chartham, Kent.  
 1416? John Prophete? with saints, &c., Ringwood, Hants.  
 1419. John Desford, demi-figure, New College, Oxford.  
 1420. Robt. de Wyntryngham, Cotterstock, Northants.  
 c. 1420. A Priest, Mawgan, Cornwall.  
 c. 1420. Reginald Cobham, Cobham, Kent.  
 1423. Thos. Harlyng, Pulborough, Sussex.  
 1425. John Mersden, Thurstaston, Leicestershire.  
 1427. Rich. Cassey, Tredington, Worcestershire.  
 1428. Wm. Mowbray, Upwell, Norfolk.  
 1432. John Wyllynghale, demi-figure, Winchester College, Hants.  
 1432. John Mapilton, Broadwater, Sussex.  
 1435. Hen. Martyn, Upwell, Norfolk.  
 1436. Wm. Prestwyk, Warbleton, Sussex.  
 1438. John Lovelle, St. George's, Canterbury.  
 1445. Rich. North, demi-figure, Winchester College, Hants.  
 1450. Robt. Thurbern, Winchester College.  
 e. 1450. John Gladwyn, Cobham, Kent.  
 1454. Robt. Arthur, Chartham, Kent.  
 1457? John Tubney, demi-figure, Southfleet, Kent.  
 1458. Thos. Mordon, demi-figure, Fladbury, Worcestershire.  
 1458? Wm. Kirkaby, Theydon Gernon, Essex.  
 1462. John Blodwell, with saints, &c., Balsham, Camb.  
 1464. John Heth, Tintinhull, Somerset.  
 1465. Thos. Cod, demi-figure, St. Margaret's, Rochester.  
 1468. John Byrkhed, with saints, &c., Harrow, Middx.  
 c. 1470. John Lewelyne, Ronald Kirk, Yorks.  
 1471. Hen. Sever, with saints, &c., Merton College, Oxford.  
 1472. Thos. Tonge, Beeford, Yorks.  
 1475. Thos. Key, Charlton-on-Otmoor, Oxon.  
 1476? Rich. Rudhale? from Hereford Cathedral, now in the possession of J. B. Nichols, Esq.  
 1477. Rich. Bole, Wilburton, Camb.  
 e. 1480. A Priest, Queen's College, Cambridge.  
 1480? Wm. Thornbury, Faversham, Kent.  
 1485. John Spence, Quainton, Bucks.  
 1494. Walter Hyll, New College, Oxford.  
 1497. Wm. Stevyn, Girton, Camb.  
 1498. Jas. Hert, Hitchin, Herts.  
 c. 1500. Stephen Hellard, Stevenage, Herts.

*Military.* The armour of the fifteenth century presents many more minute changes than that of any other period; and as these variations are observable on brasses of the same date, the description is of necessity somewhat complicated. The same defences which were used at the close of the previous century, namely, the bascinet,



Sir Roger Drury and lady, 1405, Rougħham, Suffolk.

camail, and habergeon of chain mail, breast and backplates, jupon, and plate armour over the arms and legs, are still represented on the effigies of the first ten years, the chief distinction on brasses being the usual addition, to the camail and skirt of the hawberk, of a

fringe of small bunches of rings, which were probably of brass.<sup>8</sup> The effigy of Sir Roger Drury, 1405, at Rougham, Suffolk, furnishes a good instance of military costume of this time. Round the bascinet an *orle* was worn, which was a wreath enriched with jewels, &c., and intended to lighten the pressure of the tilting helmet: instances occur at Lingfield, Surrey, 1403; Spilsby, Lincolnshire, c. 1410; Harpham, Yorks.<sup>1</sup>, 1418 (see the annexed

<sup>8</sup> Fine brasses of knights thus armed are the following:—

1401. Sir Nich. Dagworth, Blickling, Norfolk.

1401. Sir Morys Russel and lady, Dyrham, Gloucestershire.

1402. Rauf de Cobham, demi-figure, Cobham, Kent.

1402. Sir Wm. Fienlez, Hurstmonceaux, Sussex.

1404. A Knight (Stourton?) and lady, Sawtrey, Hunts.

1405. Sir Roger Drury and lady, Rougham, Suffolk.

1405. Sir Reginald Braybrok, Cobham, Kent.

1405. Sir John Russell, Strensham, Worcestershire.

c 1405. Sir Thos. Massyngberde and lady, Gunby, Lincolnshire.

1406. Thos. de Beauchamp, Earl, and Countess, St. Mary's, Warwick.

1407. Sir Nich. Hawberk, Cobham, Kent.

1407. Sir Wm. Bagot and lady, Baginton, Warwickshire.

1408. Sir Wm. Tendring, Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk.

1409. Sir Wm. de Burgate and lady, Burgate, Suffolk.

1409. Wm. Snayth and wife, Addington, Kent.

c. 1410? (1331). Sir Thos. Burton and lady, Little Casterton, Rutland.

<sup>1</sup> Another instance of an *orle* worn on the bascinet was at Brabourne, Kent, on the brass of Sir Robt. Gower, c. 1400, a demi-figure, similar to that at Cobham, Kent, 1402, holding a shield. It is sketched in the Harleian MS., No. 3917, fol. 77.



Sir Thomas de St. Osmund, Harpham, Yorks., 1418

engraving). Collars of SS. frequently occur on brasses in the earlier half of the century.



Sir Robt. Suckling? c. 1415, Barsham, Suffolk.

At its very commencement the gradual addition of plate armour is apparent, and is well exemplified by the figures at Great Tew, Oxfordshire, 1410, and Barsham, Suffolk, c. 1415; to the breast and backplates was now attached a skirt of five or six *taces*, or plates, overlapping upwards, reaching to the middle of the thighs, with hinges at their left side, and secured by straps buckled over the opening at their right side; an early example of which



Sir John Wylcotes, 1410, Great Tew, Oxon.

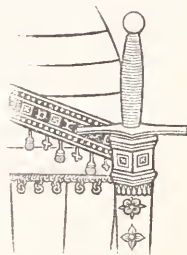
is on the noble figure of Sir Thomas de Braunstone, 1401, Wisbeach, Cambridge-shire. The jupon was now discarded<sup>i</sup>, and perhaps the hawberk also, the edging of mail still seen beneath the skirt of taces being probably a mere fringe attached to the under garment or to the back of the lowermost tace, to the centre of which a small plate, termed a *baguette*, was appended, and which was afterwards superseded by a small lappet of mail; gorgets of plate were also worn either over or instead of the camail; the epaulières consisted of several pieces, and oblong plates, or, more commonly, others of a circular form called roundels<sup>k</sup>, were attached by points to the

<sup>i</sup> The jupon appears for a short time to have been worn over the cuirass and taces, if we may judge from the fringe (not of mail) which sometimes appears

over (?) the lowest tace.

<sup>k</sup> On the figures of the two knights, apparently engraved by Yorkshire artists, at South Kelsey, Lincolnshire,

front of the armpits, and occasionally ornamented with crosses. Roundels or fan-shaped elbow-plates for defending the arm when straightened were placed at the elbows; the straps fastening the brassarts are usually distinctly visible, and the gauntlets have three joints to the cuffs. The transverse bawdric was now succeeded by a belt ornamented with trefoils, quatrefoils, &c., passing diagonally across the skirt of taces, and sustaining the sword at the left side; a good instance of this belt, ornamented with initials and tassels, is on the effigy of Sir John Phelip, 1415, at Kidderminster, Worcestershire. On a fine figure at Spilsby, Lincolnshire, c. 1410, both belts appear, an arrangement which is especially observable on stone effigies. In the first part of the century the pommel of the sword is mostly pyriform, and occasionally ornamented with a shield of arms. The scabbard is sometimes adorned with a running pattern, flowers, rosettes, &c., and has generally at the top a characteristic ornament, consisting of two quatrefoils, with a row of guttés, or drops, beneath, and the anelace was attached to the right side by a short cord passing through a loop fastened to the lowermost tace; this mode of fastening, however, is visible only on a very few brasses, as at Routh, Yorks., c. 1410; Brabourne, Kent, 1434<sup>m</sup> (?). The genouillières have oblong plates below, and sometimes also above them; gussets of mail appear behind them, and also at the insteps<sup>n</sup>.



Sword-belt, &c.,  
Kidderminster,  
Worcestershire, 1415<sup>l</sup>

c. 1410, and Harpham, Yorks., 1418, these plates resemble small shields with the upper and lower edges curved forwards. Similar plates are on effigies at Wellesbourne, Warwickshire, 1426; Teynham, Kent, 1444, and Barnes, Surrey, 1415 (now lost), engraved in Lysons' *Environs of London*, vol. i. p. 17, ed. 1792.

<sup>l</sup> This kind of ornamented belt, though perhaps to be found on no other brass except this instance only, was commonly worn during the century, little bells being occasionally attached to it. See Fairholt's *Costume in England*, pp. 179, 180, and Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, vol. i. plate of Courtiers of the reign of Rich. II.

<sup>m</sup> On stone effigies the anelace is sometimes attached in the manner de-

scribed, but more frequently by a cord passing diagonally over the hips, and crossing the sword-belt. Even the latter is sometimes omitted on brasses.

<sup>n</sup> The beautiful brass at Little Horckesley, Essex, of Sir Thos. Swynborne and son, 1391—1412, each under a triple canopy united by a central shaft, exhibits the two styles of armour which have been described. Other examples of the later changes are the following:—

1403. Sir Reginald de Cobham, Lingfield, Surrey.

1403. John Hanley and wives, Dartmouth, Devon.

1409. Bartholomew Lord Bourchier and ladies, Halstead, Essex.

1410. Sir John Wylcotes and lady, Great Tew, Oxon.

c. 1410. A Knight and lady of

On brasses about 1420 the plate armour has entirely superseded the mail<sup>o</sup>, (see the annexed engraving of a brass at Hildersham, Camb.) Early examples of complete plate are the figures of Sir Thomas de Cruwe, 1411, Wixford, Warwickshire; John Cressy, Esq., 1414, Dodford, Northants., and Sir Robt. Suckling (?), c. 1415, Barsham, Suffolk. The bascinet is now less acutely pointed, the part over the forehead, the lower edge of the gorget, the cuffs of the gauntlets, &c., are often elegantly ornamented with trefoils, the gauntlets frequently do not cover the last joints of the fingers. The spurs about this date are "guarded" by "a thin plate of steel over the rowells, to prevent their entangling or penetrating deep," and the edges of the armour are represented with double lines: good instances of these peculiarities are afforded by the brasses of the Quatermaynes family, c. 1420, at Thame, Oxon., and those of Lord Camoys,



P. M. D.  
Henry Parys, Esq., 1427 (?),  
Hildersham, Camb.

the D'Eresby family, Spilsby, Lincolnshire.

c. 1410. A Knight and lady, South Kelsey, Lincolnshire.

c. 1410. A Knight, Wendon, Essex.

c. 1410. Sir John Routh and lady, Routh, Yorks.

1410-15. Robt. Morle Esquires, Stokenchurch, Oxon.

1411. Sir John Drayton, Dorchester, Oxon.

1412. Robt. Lord Ferrers and lady, Merevale, Warwickshire.

1412. Sir John Chetwode, Warkworth, Northants.

1414. Sir Ivo Fitzwaryn, Wantage, Berks.

1414. Geoffrey Fransham, Esq., Great Fransham, Norfolk.

1415. John Peryent, Esq., and wife, Digswell, Herts.

1415. Sir John Phelip, Walter Cookesey, Esq., and their wife, Kidderminster, Worcestershire.

c. 1415. (1370). Sir John Erpingham, Erpingham, Norfolk.

c. 1415. A Knight, Addington, Kent.

c. 1415. A Knight (lower part lost), Mere, Wilts.

c. 1415. A Knight and two ladies, Ixworth, Suffolk.

1416. Sir Wm. Skelton and ladies, Hinxton, Camb.

1416. Sir Simon Felbrigg and lady, Felbrigg, Norfolk.

1417? John Knyvet, Esq.? Mendlesham, Suffolk.

1417. John Hadresham, Lingfield, Surrey.

1418. Thos. Lathe, Esq., Stradsett, Norfolk.

1418. Sir Thos. de St. Quintin and lady, Harpham, Yorks.

<sup>o</sup> At Theddlethorp, Lincolnshire,

Robt. Hayton, Esq., 1424, wears a camel. On the figures of knights at Thame, Oxon., c. 1420; Linton, Cambridgeshire, 1425 (?); Clifton Reynes, Bucks., 1428, the fringe of mail is visible beneath the gorget of plate. The edging of the skirt of mail below the taces is seen as late as 1426, on the effigy of John Lowe, at Battle, Sussex.

1419, Trotton, Sussex, and Sir John Lysle, 1407, Thrupton, Hants., the last being no doubt engraved at least a dozen years after the death of the deceased. Roundels in front of the armpits are rare after 1435, oblong or shield-like palettes being now more common. Moustaches and beards are now rarely worn<sup>p</sup>.

The brass of John Poyle, 1424, at Hampton Poyle, Oxon., is an early instance of further changes; two small plates called *tuiles*, from their resembling tiles, were now buckled to the



Thos. Quatermaynes, c. 1420, (ob. 1342.) Thame, Oxon

<sup>p</sup> See a brass, c. 1445, at Newland, Gloucestershire. Examples of knights in complete plate, such as has been described, are the following:—

1411. Thos. de Cruwe, Esq., and wife, Wixford, Warwickshire.

c. 1415. Walter Rolond, Cople, Beds.

c. 1415. A Knight, Northleigh, Oxon.

1416. Matthew Swetenham, Esq., Blakesley, Northants.

1418. John Fossebrok, Esq., and wife, Cranford, Northants.

1420. John Chetewode, Esq., Warkworth, Northants.

1420. John Dorwarde, Esq., and wife, Bocking, Essex.

c. 1420. — Warren, Lewes, Sussex.

c. 1420. Thomas Walysch, Esq., and wife, Whitechurch, Oxon.

c. 1420. John Hamperotis? Nether Winchendon, Bucks.

1422. Wm. Wylde, Esq., and wife, Dodford, Northants.

1422. Thos. Salle, Esq., Stevington, Beds.

1423. Sir Ralph Shelton and lady, Great Snoring, Norfolk.

1424. — Bedgbery? Goudhurst, Kent.

1424. John Framlingham, Esq., and wife, demi-figures, Debenham, Suffolk.

1425. Sir Baldwin Seyntgeorge, Hatley St. George, Camb.

1426. Sir John de Brevys, Wiston, Sussex.

1426. John Cosyngton, Esq., and wife, Aylesford, Kent.

1426. Sir Thos. le Strange, Wellesbourne, Warwickshire.

1426? John Brook? Easton, Suffolk.

1428. John Norwich, Esq., and wife, Yoxford, Suffolk.

c. 1430. Harry Hawles, Arreton, Isle of Wight.

c. 1430. A Knight and lady, Scrivelsby, Lincolnshire.

c. 1430. A Knight, Thurleigh, Beds.

c. 1430. A Knight, Hatley Cockayne, Beds.

c. 1430. A Knight and lady, Harlow, Essex.

1431. Edw. de la Hale, Esq., Oakwood, Surrey.

1433. Sir John Leventhorp (with *tuiles*) and lady, Sawbridgeworth, Herts.

1434. Lawrence Fyton, Esq., Sunning, Berks.

1435. Sir Wm. Arnold, demi-figure, Battle, Sussex.

1435. John Launcelyn, Esq. (with *tuiles*), and wife, Cople, Beds.

1435. Thos. Wideville, Esq., and wives, Bromham, Beds.

c. 1440 (ob. 1400). Sir Laurence Pabenhams and ladies, Orford D'Arcy, Hunts.

1442. John Peryent, Esq., Digswell, Herts.

1444. John Frogenhall, Esq., Teynham, Kent.

1444. Nicholas Manston, Esq., St. Laurence's, Thanet.

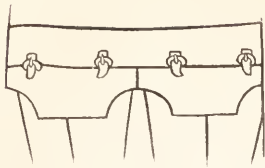
The following effigies strongly resemble that at Thame, Oxon.:—

1407 (c. 1420). Sir John Lysle, Thrupton, Hants.

1419. Thos. Lord Camoys and lady, Trotton, Sussex.

1419. Wm. Maydeston, Esq., Ulcomb, Kent.

1420. Sir Wm. Calthorp, Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk.



Tuiles, Hampton Poyle Oxon., 1424

were often of the character represented in the annexed engraving from the brass of Sir Thomas Cheddar, 1442? Cheddar, Somerset, and the skirt of taces was composed of a few more plates than before<sup>q</sup>. Tabards, or surcoats<sup>r</sup>, with skirts covering the taces, and slit up at the sides, although introduced at least a century earlier, now first appear on brasses: they were charged with armorial bearings, usually thrice repeated, once on the breast and skirt, and twice on the sleeves, which in early examples are small, as at Great Snoring, Norfolk, 1423, and Amberley, Sussex, 1424.



Part of the figure of Sir Thos. Cheddar, 1442? Cheddar, Somerset.

About 1435, *demi-placcards*, or *demi-placcates*, began to be worn over the cuirass<sup>s</sup>; these were additional plates, broad at their lower

1420. Sir Arnald Savage and lady, Bobbing, Kent.

c. 1420. Peter Halle, Esq., and wife, Herne, Kent.

c. 1420. A Knight, Springfield, Essex.

1423. Tristram Curteys, Esq., Lostwithiel, Cornwall.

1424. John Compton, Esq., and wife, Dinton, Bucks.

1425. Sir Wm Molyns and lady, Stoke Poges, Bucks.

1425? Nicholas Paris, Esq.? Linton, Camb.

1426. John Cely, Esq., and wife, Sheldwich, Kent.

1428. Sir John Reynes, Clifton Reynes, Bucks.

1429. Roger Isly, Sundridge, Kent.

1430. Sir Thos. Broumflet, Wymington, Beds.

c. 1430. A Knight of the Danbeney family and lady, South Petherton, Somerset.

1433. Wm. Harwedon? and wife, Great Harrowden, Northants.

<sup>q</sup> Brasses resembling that at Cheddar,

and without the tuiles, are the following:—

1436. Thomas Chaucer, Esq., and wife, Ewelme, Oxon.

1437. Thos. Brokill, Esq., and wife, Saltwood, Kent.

1440. Valentine Baret, Esq., Preston, Kent.

c. 1440. A Knight and lady, Ashdon, Essex.

1441. Sir Hugh Halsham and lady, West Grimstead, Sussex.

1441. Rich. Trevet, alias Hasylwode, Stratfield Mortimer, Berks.

1444. Wm. Fynderne, Esq., and wife, Childrey, Berks.

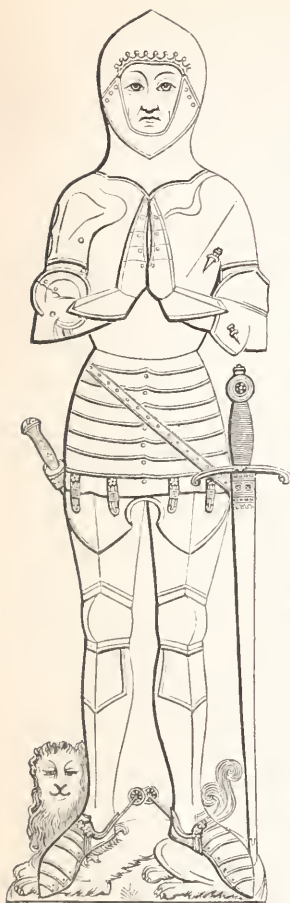
1444. Sir Wm. Echyngham, wife, and son, Etchingham, Sussex.

1457. Sir John Harpedon, Westminster Abbey.

<sup>r</sup> Examples are on the figures of sons beneath the Knight at Quy, Camb., engraved at p. cxciij.

<sup>s</sup> Perhaps these plates were merely the lower part of the cuirass, which may have been divided into two parts for the convenience of bending the body.





Sir John Throkemorton, 1445, Fladbury, Worcestershire.



Rich. de Wygtham, c. 1455, Wytham, Berks.

part, and gradually diminishing in width towards the neck; below which they were fastened to the breast-plate by straps, which are seldom visible on brasses, owing to the raised posture of the hands. Similar plates were also worn on the back, and were united by hinges, &c., to

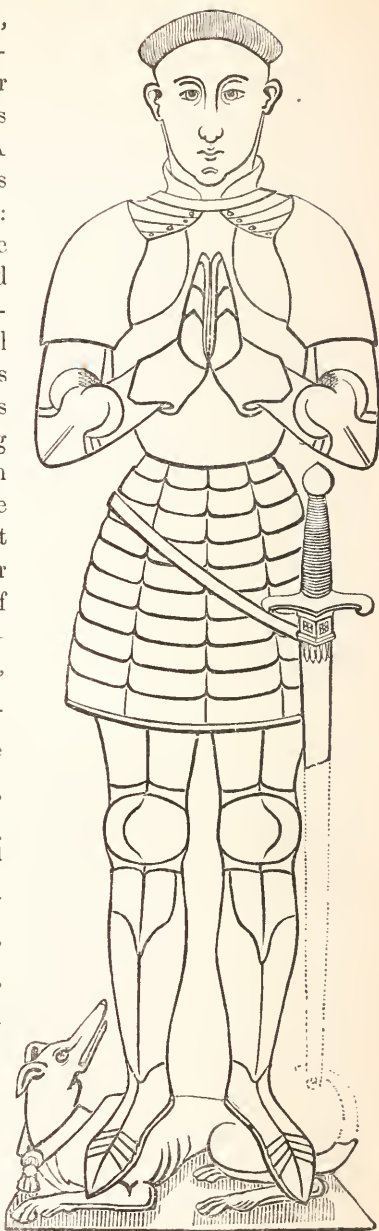
those in front. Epaulières, composed of *splints*, or small over-lapping plates, nearly meeting in front of the chest, defended the shoulders. The left, or bridle arm, was now more fully protected than the right, by large plates placed outside the elbows, and in front of the armpits; they were secured by small spikes or spring-pins fitting into staples affixed to the armour underneath, the loops of which passed through holes in the centre of the plates. The right, or sword arm, which was required for action, had slighter defences; thus a small and peculiar-shaped plate, called a *moton*, protected

the armpit, and the elbow-pieces were much smaller. The gauntlets had longer cuffs, the separate plates of the skirt of taces were often scalloped or curved upwards in the centre, and the rowell spurs were without guards, and screwed to the heels. Suits of this description, which were worn with or without tuiles, are well exemplified in the above engravings of brasses at Fladbury, Worcestershire, 1445, and Wytham, Berks., c. 1455<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> Examples of the peculiarities above described are as follow:—

1434? Wm. Scot, Esq.(?), Brabourne, Kent.

About and after the year 1445, knights were generally represented bareheaded, with the hair cropped close, and their hands very frequently uncovered. A few brasses remain which possess also the following characteristics: the breastplate was of a more globular form, and had a curved groove at each side. The defences of the arms were of equal size, and made of smaller pieces than before. The epaulières were encircled by a strap passing round the neck; in front of them were worn *pauldrons*, which were plates extending at first only just over the shoulders and upper part of the arms. The skirt of



1435. Sir Rich. Delamere and lady, Hereford Cathedral.

1438. Rich. Dixon, Esq., Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

1440. John Mepertyshale, Esq., wife lost, Mepshall, Beds.

1440. John Weston, Esq., Albury, Surrey.

c. 1440. A Knight, Arkesden, Essex.

c. 1440. Sir Wm. Wadham and mother, Ilminster, Somerset.

c. 1440. Sir Thos. de Mohun, Lanteglos-by-Fowey, Cornwall.

1441. John Boteler, Esq., and wife, Mepshall, Beds.

1441. Reginald Barantyn, Esq., Chalgrove, Oxon.

1445. John Daundelyon, '*Gentilman*,' Margate, Kent.

1445. Thos. de St. Quintin, Esq., Harpham, Yorks.

c. 1445. Sir Christopher Baynham and lady, Newland, Gloucestershire.

1446. Drew Barantyn, Esq., and wives, Chalgrove, Oxon.

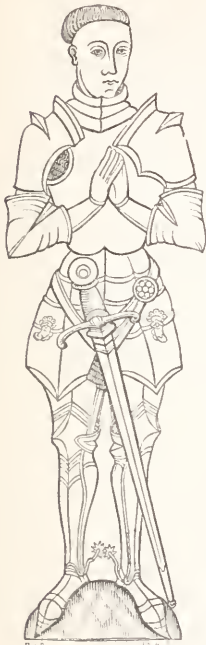
1451. John Bernard, Esq., and wife, Iselham, Camb.

1467. Roger Bothe, Esq., and wife, Sawley, Derbyshire.

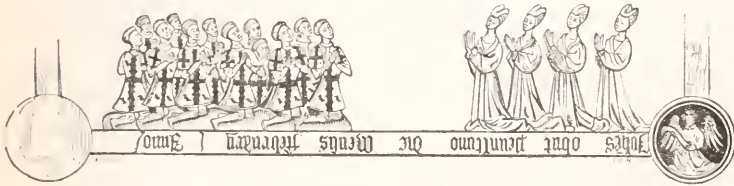
A Knight, c. 1460, Isleworth, Middx.

taces had now longitudinal as well as transverse lines of partition,

and was thereby divided into a number of small oblong plates. Brasses presenting the above peculiarities, and without tuiles, are at South Mimms, 1448, Hayes, and Isleworth (see the engraving on the opposite page), c. 1450, Middx.; Marston Morteyne, Beds., 1451; Morley, Derbyshire, 1454. Figures in a somewhat similar attire remain at Chalfont St. Peter's, Bucks., 1446, and Northolt, Middx., 1452.



Some changes were made about the year 1460, which may be recognised by referring to the annexed engraving of an interesting brass at Quy, Camb. A gorget, or collar of plate, now covered the throat, and a *mentonnière* projected in front of the chin, so as to meet the vizor when lowered, by which means the face was entirely protected; the pauldrons had frequently a projecting ridge, and the exterior edges



John Ansty, Esq., c. 1465, wife lost, Quy, Camb.\*

were generally invecked, and the upper one recurved for the convenience of raising the arm; at the right armpit a gusset of mail is usually visible. The coutes were sometimes of large size, and attached to the elbows by arming points; the skirt of taces shorter, with two large and pointed tuiles strapped upon it, between which a bagnet of mail

\* The inscription is more perfect in Cole's MS. in the British Museum, vol. xxxi. p. 74: [Orate pro Anabus Johis Ansty Armigeri quondam Dñi istius Ville ac primi fundatoris (Cantarie) vocat' Anstyes Chaunty & Johanne Consortis sue, Qui quidem] Johes

obijt penultimo die Mensis februaris Anno .... In Cole's time the figure of the wife was remaining. John Ansty, in 1464, presented Wm. Jakys to the chantry. See Cole's MS., vol. xxv. p. 78.



Sword, Lullingstone, Kent, 1487. y

was worn. The sword had a hilt ornamented with cross cords and fringes, a circular pommel, and was suspended diagonally in front of the body. The *genouillières* were large, with plates behind them; gussets of mail were again visible at the bend of the knees and insteps, and the *sollerets* were acutely pointed. Lance-rests, or hooks fixed by staples and moveable pins to the right side of the cuirass, to support the lance when not in use, are now first seen on brasses<sup>x</sup>; as at Green's Norton, North-



Lance-rest, Lullingstone Darrell, Bucks., 1491.

ants., 1462; Hildersham, Camb., 1466? Stockerston, Leicestershire, 1467, &c.

A few brasses (c. 1455—1470) afford instances of a mixed kind of armour, the chief peculiarities of which are the size and angular shape of the elbow-plates and pauldrons, which are attached to the arms and shoulders by arming-points or by spring-pins, and the use of ridges to strengthen the various pieces of the armour, especially the pauldron on the left shoulder. The effigies of Thomas Quatre-mayns, Esq., c. 1460, at Thame, Oxon. (see the engraving on the opposite page); a Knight, c. 1460, Adderbury, in the same county; Ralph Lord Cromwell, 1454,



Defences of arm, Robt. Eyr, Esq., 1463, Hathersage Derbyshire.

<sup>x</sup> See also the figure of John Leventhorp, 1510, p. exviii. The edge of the skirt of the haubketon, underneath the baguette and tuiles, is again occasionally perceptible, as in the kneeling figure of Henry Unton, 1470, Sculthorpe, Norfolk, also at Hildersham, Camb., 1466? Stockerston, Leicestershire, 1467, and Roydon, Essex, 1471. The following are examples of figures in the species of armour described in the text:—

1458. Sir Thomas Shernbourn and lady, Shernbourn, Norfolk.

1460. Sir Robt. del Bothe and lady, Wilmslow, Cheshire.

1460. John Gaynesford, Esq., Crowhurst, Surrey.

1462. John Tothyll and wife, Swaffham Prior, Camb.

1462. Sir Thos. Grene (with anelace in front) and lady, Green's Norton,

Northants.

1463. Robt. Eyr, Esq., and wife, Hathersage, Derbyshire.

1465. Thos. Cobham, Esq., and wife, Hoo, Kent.

1466? Hen. Paris, Esq.? Hildersham, Camb.

1467. John Boville, Esq., and wife, Stockerston, Leicestershire.

1471. Thos. Colte, Esq., and wife, Roydon, Essex.

The figure of Geo. Langham, Esq., 1462, formerly at Little Chesterford, Essex, was another instance.

<sup>y</sup> The ornament on the scabbard of Sir Wm. Pecche, Lullingstone, Kent, is probably unique; the brass is of a peculiar style, and was perhaps engraved many years later than the date (1487) upon it.

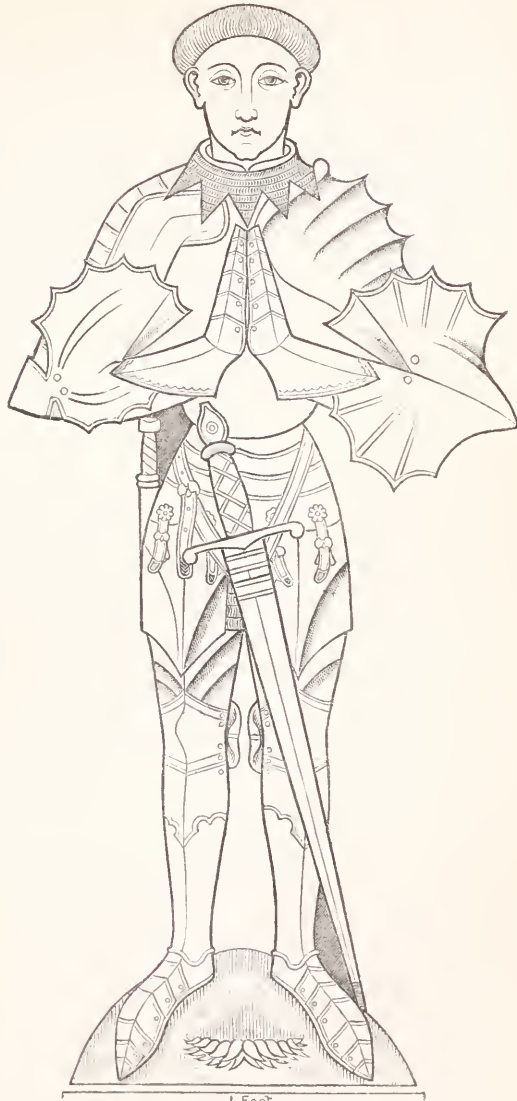
Tattershall, Lincolnshire; William Mareys, Esq., 1459, Preston, Kent; and of a knight of the Willoughby family, at Wollaton, Notts., present good instances of this style of armour.

Helmets called *salades* (Germ. *Schale*, 'a shell,' 'bowl'), are not unfrequently found on brasses of about this period. They reached down behind so as to guard the neck, and had vizors in front which



Wollaton, Notts., 1471.  
Sprotborough, Yorks.

lowered and met the mentonnière; a good example of this kind of head-piece is on a brass at Sprotborough, Yorks.<sup>z</sup>



1. Feet  
Thos. Quarremayns, Esq., c. 1460, Thame, Oxon.

<sup>z</sup> See also the engraving at p. lii. The brass of Sir John Langton and wife, 1459, at St. Peter's, Leeds, resembles that at Sprotborough. As these and the

armed figures at Catteric, 1465, Tanfield and Howden, c. 1480, Yorks., are of a peculiar character, they were probably engraved by Yorkshire artists.

About the year 1470, certain peculiarities, some of which are met with several years before, became prevalent, and are occasionally found as late as the close of the century. The cuirass had a projecting edge in front called the *tapul*: the demi-placates<sup>a</sup>, pauldrons, and genouillères were composed of two or three overlapping plates, the pauldrons covered the back of the shoulders, motons were generally worn over a gusset of mail at the right armpit, and the elbow-plates were of large size. The gauntlets had large overlapping plates to cover the back of the hand, and small separate pieces of steel to protect the fingers. The tuiles were not on so large a scale, although the escalloped skirt of taces was still worn short; and they often alternate with *tuilettes*, or small tuiles. *Standards* (or collars) and skirts of mail<sup>b</sup>, usually with vandycked edges, were now worn, the sollerets



Thomas Playtera, Esq., 1479.  
Sotterley, Suffolk.

were very long and pointed, and the various pieces of plate were ridged, ribbed, and had invecked edges. The knights were often inconsistently represented standing on a ground with flowers, &c., while their heads rested on tilting helmets, with highly ornamented mantlings. Collars of suns and roses were frequently worn; see page cxvi.<sup>c</sup>

The effigy of the crown keeper (see p. exxvii.), in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, is probably by the same artist as the brass at Catteric. The figure of John Barletot, Esq., 1453, at Stopham, Sussex, is also the work of a provincial artist; the pauldrons are fastened in the same way as on that in the engraving from Hathersage.

The following is a list of military effigies similar to the brass at Thame, c. 1460, and with salades:—

1458. Sir Robt. Staunton and lady, Castle Donington, Leicestershire.

1458. Wm. Stapilton, Esq., and wife, Edenhall, Cumberland.

c. 1460. A Knight, Wapponham, Northants.

1461. Wm. Brome, Esq., Holton, Oxon.

1462. Wm. Prelatte, Esq., and wives, Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

1465. John Threel, Esq., Arundel, Sussex.

1469. Nich. Carew, Esq., Haccombe, Devon.

<sup>a</sup> The figures in the illuminations to Froissart (c. 1460—1480), 4to. London, 1844, generally wear demi-placates; but that part of the body which is not defended by them, is clothed in a coloured vest; it is therefore probable that the placate was sometimes worn over a hauberk, or perhaps a quilted garment, instead of the breast-plate.

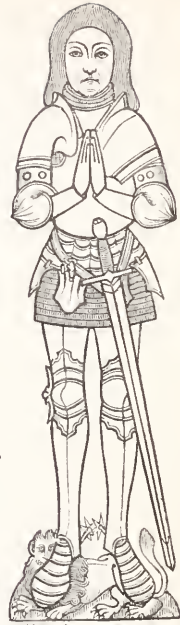
<sup>b</sup> That these were mere fringes, or short skirts, is evident from a cuirass (?) forming part of the bearings of a shield on a brass at Hinxworth, Herts., 1487.

<sup>c</sup> Examples of figures armed like that



A Knight, in the possession of Messrs. Warner, London.

The next change that took place was shortly before 1480; the hair was now worn long, the hands bare, the sword generally at the side instead of the front of the body, and the armour was subject to much less variation. A small number of brasses remain, engraved by the London artists, which shew a gradual transition to the style prevalent in the reigns of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth. The engravings of the effigy of a Knight which has been for several years in the possession of Messrs. Warner, brass-founders, of London, and that of Henry Covert, Esq., 1488, at North



Henry Covert, Esq., 1488, North Mimms, Herts

of Thos. Playters, Esq., 1479, Sotterley, Suffolk, are the following:—

1454. Wm. Ludsthorp, Esq., Warkworth, Northants.

1467. Sir Wm. Vernon and lady, Tong, Shropshire.

1470. Sir Thos. Statham and lady, Morley, Derbyshire.

1470. Ralph Sentleger, Esq., and wife, Ulcombe, Kent.

c. 1470. Sir Wm. Yelverton and lady, Rougham, Norfolk.

c. 1470. John Croston, Esq., and wives, Swinbrook, Oxon.

1472. Robt. Ingylton and wives, Thornton, Bucks.

1473. Sir John Say and lady, Broxbourn, Herts.

1476. Bartholomew Bolne, Esq., and wife, West Firle, Sussex.

1477. John Feld, Esq., Standon, Herts.

1478. Sir Robt. Clyfton, Clifton, Notts.

1478. John Fastolf, Esq., and wife, (*stolen*), Oulton, Suffolk.

1478. Roger Bothe, Esq., and wife, Sawley, Derbyshire.

1480. John Fitz Geoffrey, Esq., and wife, Sandon, Herts.

1480. Sir Auth. Grey, St. Alban's Abbey, Herts.

c. 1480. A Knight, Holbrook, Suffolk.

c. 1480. A Knight, now at Goodrich Court, Herefordshire.

c. 1480. Two Knights and a lady, Grendon, Northants.

1481. Hen. Statham, Esq., and wives, Morley, Derbyshire.

1483. Hen. Bourchier, Earl of Essex, and Countess, Little Easton, Essex.

1484. Edm. Molyneux, Esq. (in helmet), and wife, Chenies, Bucks.

1484. Sir Thos. Peyton and wives, Iselham, Camb.

1485. John Seyntmour, Esq., and wife, Beckington, Somerset.

c. 1485. A Knight, Heacham, Norfolk.

c. 1485. A Knight and lady, Latton, Essex.

Mimms, Herts., will afford a good idea of the armour of the period<sup>d</sup>.

The defences in use in the time of the two kings just mentioned may be thus described: the breastplate had a tapul, the demi-placcate was often omitted, and lance-rests were of frequent occurrence; the pauldrons were smaller, usually of two plates equal in size, with projecting edges rising perpendicularly, that on the left shoulder being generally higher than the other. Two tuiles were attached to the front of the taces, and frequently two at the sides. Gussets of mail were ordinarily placed at the right armpit and insteps; the skirt of mail had a straight edge, and was often slit up in front. The sword was suspended at the left side, and the dagger at the right, the latter being larger than in earlier examples; the genouillières had very small plates above and below them, and the sollerets or *sabbatons* were of a disproportionate size, and with round toes.



John Leventhorp, 1510, Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street, London.

1487. Sir Robt. Strelley and lady, Strelly, Notts.

1489. Wm. Brewes, Esq., and wife, Fressingfield, Suffolk.

c. 1490. Geoffrey St. Aubyn, Esq., and wife, Crowan, Cornwall.

1491. Sir Gervase Clyfton, Clifton, Notts.

1492. Geoffrey Sherard, Esq., and wife, Stapleford, Leicestershire.

1493. Rich. Conquest, wife, and father, Houghton Conquest, Beds.

1494. Walter Duredent, Esq., and wives, Denham, Bucks.

<sup>d</sup> Brasses in the style of the knight at Messrs. Warner's are the following:—

1478. John Welbek, Esq., and wife, Putney, Surrey.

1482. Sir Wm. Skypwyth and lady, South Ormesby, Lincolnshire.

1482. Wm. Robins, Esq., and wife, St. Stephen's, St. Albans.

1482. Thos. Wayte, Esq., Stoke Charity, Hants.

1483. John Weston and wife, Ockham, Surrey.

c. 1485. A Knight and lady, Much Hadham, Herts.

1491. Paul Dayrell, Esq., and wife, Lillingstone Darrell, Bucks.

Some military figures at Nether Heyford, Northants., 1487; Goring, Sussex, c. 1490; Mersham, Surrey, 1498, and Eton College Chapel, 1521, resemble the foregoing to a certain extent, but they have their skirt of plate subdivided into small oblong pieces, and the edges of their mail armour are vandycked.

The effigies of Thos. Halle, Esq., 1485, Thannington, Kent, and Thos. Caple, Esq., 1490, Ledbury, Herts., are of a similar type to that of Henry Covert, at North Mimms, 1488; as is also a Knight at Chedzoy, Somerset, c. 1500, but in this instance the sword is at the side, and the tuiles are worn under the skirt of mail.



This costume may be seen on the brass of John Leventhorp, 1510, Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street, London (see the engraving on the opposite page).<sup>e</sup>

The military effigies that have been hitherto described are, with the few exceptions that have been pointed out, evidently the works of the London artists. Towards the close of the century, several brasses in Norfolk and the immediate neighbourhood, engraved, no doubt, by artists living in that county, present certain peculiarities which deserve a separate notice. The earliest of this kind are found from about the year 1465 to c. 1480, and may easily be recognised by referring to the figure of Peter Rede, Esq., at the church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich (engraved at page lii.) The chief variations from the usual type will be seen to consist in the shape of the pauldrons and tuiles, the smaller size of the elbow-pieces, and especially in the very peculiar jointed or ridged armour of the legs; instead of being covered with a *salade* (as in the figure of Peter Rede), the head is generally uncovered, and the hair worn short and brushed back over the head.

The brass of a Knight, c. 1500, at Assington, Suffolk, well exemplifies a later style of armour frequently depicted by the Norfolk engravers: the hair is long and flowing, the hands are cased in gauntlets, the inner edges of the pauldrons and the mail-collar between them reach low down over the breast, the cuirass is composed of several overlapping plates, mail socks are visible beneath the jointed *lamés*, a circular plate with projecting spike sometimes protects the left armpit (Honing, Norfolk, 1496,



A Knight, c. 1500, Assington,  
Suffolk.

<sup>e</sup> A few other instances in this century may be mentioned:—

1497. John Trenowth, Esq., St. Michael's, Penkevil, Cornwall.

1498. Thomas Knaresburgh, Esq., and wife, Floore, Northants.

1500. Rich. Conquest, Esq., and wife, Houghton Conquest, Beds.

1500. John Tame, Esq., and wife, Fairford, Gloucestershire.

c. 1500. Thos. Gray, Esq., and wife, Cople, Beds.

Also some figures in tabards at Winwick, 1492, Ormskirk, c. 1500, Lancashire; Ashby St. Leger's, Northants., 1494; Ketteringham, Norfolk, 1499.

Bodleian Library, Oxford, c. 1490), the sword has a peculiarly shaped cross-guard, and is either suspended perpendicularly in front of the body, or is omitted altogether; as on some figures at Whissonsett, Norfolk, one of which, of the date 1484, has a *mentonnière*<sup>f</sup>. Some other brasses in Norfolk (e. g. at West Harling), as in other parts of England, possess minor and unique peculiarities which it is unnecessary to particularize.

*Civilians.* The brasses of the period under consideration furnish numerous examples of the costume of the gentry, and the wealthier classes of citizens, of which the wool-merchants were the most prominent. The mantle, as a part of the ordinary dress, is found only at the very commencement of the century; fine instances are at Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, 1401; Dartford, Kent, 1402; and Higham Ferrers, Northants., 1425, after which time it was retained as a distinctive garment of judges, mayors, and other civic functionaries<sup>g</sup>. The tunic or gown had a long skirt reaching to the ankles,



Ruch. Martyr, 1402, Dartford, Kent.

<sup>f</sup> The following is a list of some brasses resembling that of Peter Rede, Esq. :—

1466. Miles Stapleton, Esq., and wives, Ingham, Norfolk, (*figures lost*).

c. 1470 (ob. 1492). Sir Hen. Grey (*figure lost*) and lady, Ketteringham, Norfolk.

1471. Sir John Curson and lady, Belaugh, Norfolk.

1475. Ralph Blenerhaysset, Esq., Frenze, Norfolk.

1482? Robt. Bumpsted, Gent.? Sotterley, Suffolk.

Similar brasses to that at Assington, Suffolk, all in Norfolk, are the following :—

1474. Wm. Rokewod, Esq., Warham, All Saints'.

c. 1480. A Knight, Swaffham.

1484. Thos. Gybon, Gent., Whissonsett.

c. 1485. Wm. Borou, Esq., Whis-

sonsett.

1488. Edmund Clere, Esq. (in helmet), and wife, Stokesby.

1489. John Borou, Esq., Whissonsett.

1497. Rich. Rysle, Esq., and wife, Gr. at Cressingham.

1510. John Blenerhaysset, Esq., Frenze.

c. 1510 (ob. 1481). Edmund Clere, Esq., and wife, Roughton.

<sup>g</sup> A few of the brasses of the latter class may be enumerated :—

1432. Robt. Baxter, mayor, and wife, St. Giles', Norwich.

1433. Simon Seman, alderman, Barton, Lincolnshire.

1436. Richd. Purdaunce and wife, St. Giles', Norwich.

1436. John Asger, mayor, St. Lawrence's, Norwich.

c. 1460. Civilian and wife, Great St. Helen's, London.

and slit up for a short distance in front at the lower part; its collar covered the neck, and was buttoned up close under the chin; the sleeves were almost invariably very full and deep, but close at the



hic iacet Edw arduus Courtenay filius hugonis  
 Courtenay filii Comitis Devonie cuius anima in pace requiescat amen

Sir Edw. Courtenay, c. 1460, Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.

wrists, and in early instances fastened there by a single button, the mitten sleeves of an under-dress emerging beneath. The tunic was girt round the waist by a narrow belt, which was sometimes loosely

c. 1460 (ob. 1489). Wm. Brown and wife, All Saints', Stamford.

c. 1470. An alderman? and wife, St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich.

1478. Thos. Rouley, under-sheriff,

and wife, St. John's, Bristol.

1477. John Feld, alderman, and son, Standon, Herts.

1487. John Lambard and wife, Hinxworth, Herts.

buckled in front. The brasses of persons of wealth or importance had an anelace, or *conteau-de-chasse*, attached to the left side. Figures of a civilian at Tilbrook, Beds., and a vintner at Cirencester, Gloucestershire, c. 1400, without mantles, are good examples of this costume <sup>h</sup>.

Soon after the commencement of the century, the hood round the neck gradually fell into disuse; a late example is at Burford, Oxon., 1437. The legs at this date are clothed in tight hose, and the feet in shoes or half-boots usually laced up at the sides, and in one or two cases embroidered, as at Margate, Kent, 1431; more rarely they are fastened across the instep, as at Stopham, Sussex, 1428. The *conteau-de-chasse* has sometimes one or two small knives sheathed in its scabbard, as in the beautifully engraved little figure of Sir Edward Courtenay, c. 1460, at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford (see the engraving on the preceding page). Other examples are at Baldock, Herts., c. 1420 (see the engraving at page cxxx.); Hoo, Kent, c. 1430, and Caversfield, Bucks., 1435; the effigy at the last place exhibits the lacing up of the collar of the under-dress. As late as c. 1460 the hair was worn off the temples, as at the close of the last century, together with the slight beard and moustaches; but c. 1420 the latter began to be discarded, and the hair was cropped straight across the forehead and round the head: after 1480 it was always worn long.



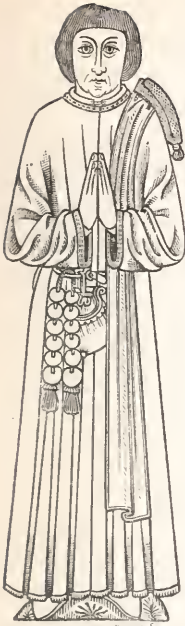
John Yonge, Woolman,  
1451, Chipping Norton, Oxon.

Towards the middle of the century the tunic became rather shorter, and its sleeves less full; and the hose and shoes were of one piece, with very pointed toes. The brass of John Yonge, at Chipping Norton, is a good specimen of the costume of this date.

About 1470 the tunic or gown reached to the ancles; it had an

<sup>h</sup> John Lyndewode, 1421, at Linwood, Lincolnshire, has a separate belt to the anelace. Late examples of the anelace are at Steventon, Berks., 1476; Geddington, Northants., c. 1480; Ightfield, Salop, 1497; in the last example,

a knife perhaps is placed beside the hilt of the dagger. The same method of carrying the knife may be seen on the stone effigy of a knight at Yatton, Somerset.



Geoffrey Kidwelly, Esq. <sup>k</sup>.  
1433, Little Wittenham, Berks.

opening entirely up the front, but on brasses this is represented as closed: the sleeves were narrow, and of uniform breadth throughout; the under sleeves were occasionally buttoned (?) beneath; the anelace was superseded by a short rosary, and a *gypeière*, or pouch, attached to the girdle<sup>1</sup>. The *gypeière* consisted of a curved frame of brass or silver, shaped somewhat like the letter D, with a projecting rim beneath pierced with holes, to enable the bag to be sewed to it; the bag had usually three tassels, and the opening was drawn together by a cord running through loops; the whole was attached to the girdle by a metal loop fastened to the straight side of the frame<sup>1</sup>. A hood, usually of dark colour, and consisting of a crown or cap with a long scarf attached to it, was now frequently thrown over the right (sometimes the left) shoulder<sup>1</sup>, and the shoes were distinct



A *Gypeière* from the brass of  
Thomas Baldry, Merchant,  
St. Mary Tower, Ipswich.

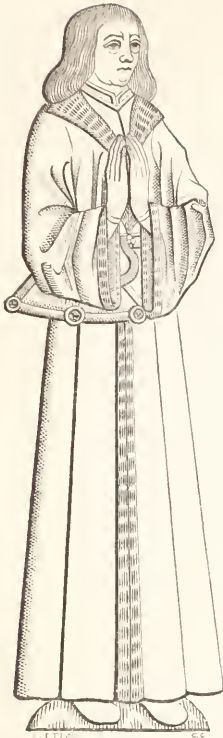
<sup>1</sup> The pouch is affixed to the belt of Simon de Felbrig, c. 1350, Felbrigg, Norfolk; another early instance is on a small figure in the Flemish brass at Newark, 1361.

<sup>2</sup> Good instances of the *gypeière* are also on brasses at Stamford, Lincolnshire, c. 1475; Thame, Oxon., 1503. In the Arch. Journ., vol. x. p. 86, is an engraving of a beautifully embroidered hawking pouch, similar to the *gypeière*; the frame is of silver-gilt, enamelled. In vol. iv. p. 361, is an engraving of a brass frame, bearing an inscription, evidently belonging to a pouch; it was dug up at Yarm, Durham, and "with it were found many human bones, and a large number of small wooden beads, finely turned, which evidently composed rosaries." The rosary was a chaplet composed of various numbers of beads strung loosely on a cord or thread, usually arranged in decades, divided by a larger bead, and intended as a register of the number of *Ave Marias* and *Pater nosters* to be said by the wearer. According to Pugin (Glossary, *roc.* Beads),

"the term Rosary is probably derived from the practice of carving roses on the larger beads between the decades." A good example of a rosary may be seen on the brass at North Creek, Norfolk, c. 1500, engraved at p. cxxiii., each of the smaller beads is inscribed *ave*, and the two ends of the cord are secured respectively by a tassel and signet ring. The rosaries worn by men consisted of about one decade only, those by women generally of five or more. The beads are never found on military effigies, and very rarely on those of ecclesiastics. Besides the instance at North Creek, others are at Fovant, Wilts., 1492, and Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, 1521. See the engraving at p. lxxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Esquires (*Armigeri*) are occasionally found during this century in the dress of civilians. Other instances are at Ashby St. Leger's, Northants., 1416; Amer-sham, Bucks., 1430; Beddington, Surrey, 1432; Swainswick, Somerset, 1439, &c.

<sup>4</sup> This hood is found as late as 1513, on a carefully executed brass at Mickleham, Surrey.



John Colman, 1506, Little Waldingfield, Suffolk

from the hose. This dress, which may be seen on the brass of Geoffrey Kidwelly, Esq., at Little Wittenham, Berks. (see the engraving on the preceding page), is found on brasses quite at the close of the century, but c. 1490 the gown was usually thrown open in front, either above or below the girdle, and sometimes both, and therefore exposed to view the lining of fur; the sleeves were loose, with large cuffs, the shoes had misshapen and broad toes, and the hood is rarely found. Good examples of this costume are a civilian, 1506, Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, and a notary at St. Mary Tower Church, Ipswich, of which an engraving will be found at page cxxviii.<sup>m</sup>

*Ladies.* The costume of the ladies, as is usual, presents a greater variety than that of their husbands, although they much resemble each other in their general features. During the first ten years of the century, the dresses which were worn at the end of the fourteenth are still seen on a few brasses. The nebule head-dress is found as late as 1410, at Great

<sup>m</sup> The brasses of civilians of this century are so numerous that they may be dismissed with a few examples:—

1409. Robt. de Haitfeld and wife, Owston, Yorks.

1409. Edmund Cook, with anelace, Great Berkhamstead, Herts.

c. 1410. Harry Notingham, with anelace, and wife, Holm-by-the-Sea, Norfolk.

1417. Geoff. Barbur, demi-figure, now in St. Helen's, Abingdon, Berks.

1420. John Urban and wife, Southfleet, Kent.

1429. Roger Thornton and wife (Flemish), Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumberland.

1430. Hen. Brudenell and wife, Amersham, Bucks.

1430. Thos. Godefray and wife, Lydd, Kent.

c. 1430. John Bowf and wife, Pakefield, Suffolk.

1431. Nich. Canteys, Margate, Kent.

1432. Nich. Carew, Esq., and wife, Beddington, Surrey.

1437. Robt. Skerne and wife, Kingston, Surrey.

1437. John Bacon and wife, All Hallows' Barking, London.

1439. Edmund Forde, Esq., Swainswick, Somerset.

c. 1440. A civilian and wife, Pelham Furneux, Herts.

1440? Robt. Pagge and wife, Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

1442. Peter Stone, with anelace, Margate, Kent.

1447. Thos. Fortey, Wm. Scors, and their wife, Northleach, Gloucestershire.

1450. Laurence Pygot and wife, Dunstable, Beds.

c. 1450. Civilian and wife, New Shoreham, Sussex.

1452. Edmund Mille, Gent., and wife, Pulborough, Sussex.

Tew, Oxon., and the reticulated coiffure surrounding the forehead is seen on a small but elegant brass of a lady, 1401, at Goring, Oxon.; the veil head-dress is of frequent occurrence. Joan and Alice, wives of John Hauley, 1403, at Dartmouth, Devon, have their hair dressed in large plaits beside the face, a fashion which, however, seems to have been chiefly confined to young unmarried females (c. 1410—1440), who also wore a sort of narrow wreath to keep the hair in its proper place. A good instance of this is afforded by



Head of a lady, c. 1415.  
Waltham, Lincolnshire.

the figure of one of the Waltham family, c. 1415, at Waltham, Lincolnshire. A small effigy of one of the Clopton family, at Long Melford, Suffolk, c. 1420, exhibits a simple style of head-dress worn by young ladies. Another ex-



Head of a lady, c. 1420.  
Long Melford, Suffolk.

ample, consisting also of a circular cap, but differently ornamented, may be seen on the effigy of Philippa Carreu, 1414, at Beddington, Surrey.

The usual habit worn by ladies of rank at the commencement of the century was a tight-fitting kirtle; low at the neck, sometimes girded across the hips, (Little Casterton, Rutland, c. 1410?) and with tight sleeves buttoned underneath the fore-arm, and partly covering the hands: over this was worn the mantle. The head attire usually accompanying this dress was the crespine: it was a netted caul worn over the head, confining the front hair over the forehead, and in two small bunches above the ears; a roll, or wreath, appears to have encircled the head, to keep the head-dress in its proper position. Over this a veil or kerchief was thrown, which fell down behind, and on the shoulders at each side. This costume is well shewn by a beautiful figure at Sawtry All Saints', Hants., 1404 (see the engraving on the next page), and Rougham, Suffolk, 1405 (see the engraving at page clxxxiv.)

1452. A merchant and wife, Hitchin, Herts.

1455. Rich. Manfeld, brother, and sister, Taplow, Bucks.

1458. John Fortey, Northleach, Gloucestershire.

1462. John Frankeleyn and wife, Chearsley, Bucks.

1485. Wm. Goldwelle and wife, Great Chart, Kent.

1485. Rich Westbroke, Great Berkhamstead, Herts.

1493. Roger Harper, merchant, and wife, Axbridge, Somerset.

1495. Wm. Maynwar yng, Ightfield, Salop.

Over the kirtle was often worn another gown, shewn in the engraving, from a brass at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, 1400, at page clxviii.; it had likewise close sleeves, was buttoned either entirely up the front, or close up under the chin only, with the collar turned over; it also was often secured by a girdle, as at Shottesbrooke, Berks., 1401. The brass at Goring, Oxon. (see the engraving on



Miss Goring, Dea Savary All saints Hunts.

the opposite page), before mentioned, furnishes a good example of the habit worn by ladies c. 1400, the head-dress being varied, and the mantle often omitted <sup>2</sup>.

Throughout the century the sideless dress was frequently worn over the kirtle and under the mantle; the ornament down the body

<sup>2</sup> In the figure at Goring, the kirtle is worn without the gown. It is, however, in this case, with the exception of

the mitten sleeves, very similar to the gown, and affords a good illustration of the costume of the period.



is seldom found except in early examples; the edges of the openings are bordered with fur, and the girdle of the kirtle is sometimes visible through them<sup>o</sup>. The length of this dress varied very much; it frequently reached only to the hips, sometimes below the knees, but more generally it covered the feet, in which case it had often a facing of fur at the bottom<sup>p</sup>.

After c. 1420 the sleeves of the kirtle extended no farther than the wrists, and were no longer secured with buttons; the kirtle itself, and especially the mantle, were frequently charged with armorial bearings. These two dresses are found in conjunction on brasses during the whole century.

Ladies of rank are occasionally represented in a gown, short-waisted, with a square collar turned over the shoulders, and with large sleeves, resembling those of the surplice, in being very deep and open at the wrists, so as to reach to the ground

even when the hands are raised; the sleeves are sometimes lined with fur, and the collar edged with the same material. The effigy of Lady Millicent Meryng, c. 1415, at East Markham, Notts. (see the engraving on the next page), forms a good illustration of this costume<sup>q</sup>.



Etching — 15th Century Gown

<sup>o</sup> See supra, p. clxvi. note 7.

<sup>p</sup> Perhaps this, in some cases, is a part of the kirtle.

<sup>q</sup> Although a gown with similar sleeves was frequently worn by gentlemen, it is very rarely to be found on their brasses,

Other figures in a similar robe are at Spilsby, c. 1410, South Kelsey, c. 1410, Scrivelsby, c. 1430, Lincolnshire; Digswell, Herts., 1415; Kidderminster, Worcestershire, 1415; Cranford, Northants., 1418; Bocking, Essex, 1420; Thame, Oxon., c. 1420; Arundel, Sussex, 1430; Northfleet, Kent, 1433; Great Missenden, Bucks., 1436; Brightwell-Baldwin, Oxon., 1439; Orford Darcy, Hunts., c. 1440.

Soon after the commencement of

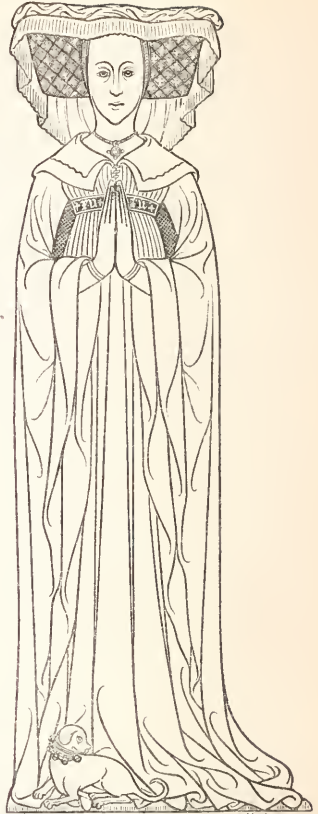


Head, Philippa Eyschoppesdon, 1414, Broughton, Oxon

the century (c. 1415) the side cauls of the crespine head-dress were always



Head, wife of Robt. Skerne, 1437, Kingston, Surrey.



Millicent Meryng, c. 1415, East Markham, Notts

of large size; and either square (as at Broughton, Oxon., 1414; East Markham, Notts., c. 1415), or more frequently their outer edges were elevated above the forehead, so as to form horns; hence these head-dresses were called horned

head-dresses; good instances are afforded by effigies of ladies at

owing to their being generally represented in armour. Two instances may be mentioned, one at Thorncombe, Devon,

1437 (?); the other, Sir Rich. Camoys, on the brass of his parents, at Trotton, Sussex, 1419.

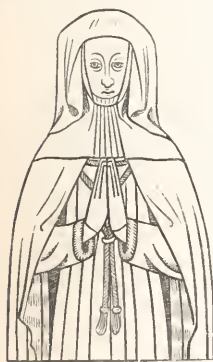
Arundel, Sussex, c. 1430; South Petherton, Somerset, c. 1430; Hereford Cathedral, 1435, and Kingston, Surrey, 1437 (see the engraving on the preceding page). Acutely pointed head-dresses may be seen at Minchhead, Somerset, 1440, and Newland, Gloucestershire, c. 1445. The head-dress of Lady Peryent, 1415, at Digs-well, Herts., is probably unique, an inter-laced caul forming, together with the face, an inverted triangle. Over all these coiffures were generally placed veils, which covered the forehead, and were dependent behind.



Head, Lady Peryent, 1415,  
Digs-well, Herts.

About the same time small chains, with crosses or other ornaments attached to them, were often suspended round the neck.

The close-sleeved robe was occasionally worn over the kirtle in the earlier half of the century: examples are at Wandborough, Wilts., 1418; Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1447, &c. It always formed part of the attire of widows, who wore also the veil head-dress, or hood, and stiffly-plaited barbe. The mourning costume, as it appeared about the middle of the century, may be seen in the annexed engraving of a small and mutilated brass, c. 1440, at Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey. After c. 1460 the barbe is seen covering the shoulders like a cape, the veil head-dress being worn shorter and thrown back behind the shoulders, as at Stretham, Cambridgeshire, 1497 (?)<sup>r</sup>.



A widow lady, c. 1440, Stoke  
D'Abernon, Surrey.



Head, Joan Swan, 1497 (?)  
Stretham, Camb.

<sup>r</sup> Fine examples of all these dresses are the ladies of the knights enumerated above. To these the following single female figures, chiefly in widow's attire, may be added:—

c. 1405. A lady, Hilmorton, Warwickshire.

1407. Margt. Brounlet, Wimington, Beds.

c. 1415. A lady, Horley, Surrey.

1416. Margt. Holes, Watford, Herts.

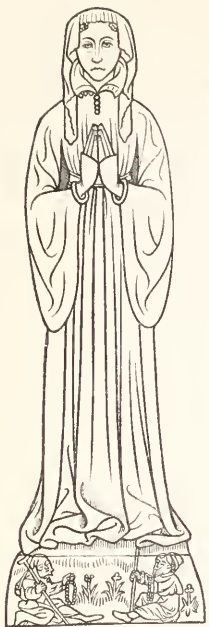
1419. Margt. Cheyne, Hever, Kent.

1420. Isabella Brounyng, Warkworth, Northants.

1420. Eleanor Cobham, Lingfield, Surrey.

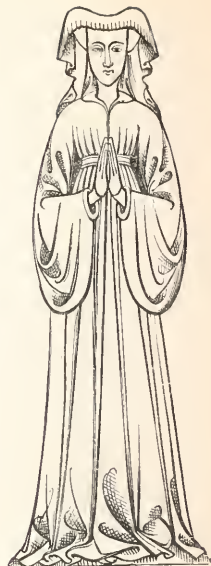
1420. Margt. Arundel, East Anthony, Cornwall.

1427. Margt. Argentcine, Elstow, Beds.



A Lady, c. 1410, St. Stephen's,  
Norwich.

Such was the dress of ladies of the upper class; but that which was common to all ranks in the fifteenth century was a long gown put on over the kirtle, and much resembling the tunic of the civilians; it was girt under the breasts, and had very deep sleeves, close and edged with fur at the wrists, and in early instances fastened there with a single button: it had also a high stiff collar buttoned close under the chin. After c. 1415 the collar falls on the shoulders, and a short lace is substituted for the buttons. The addition of the mantle is extremely rare; instances are at Baldock, Herts., c. 1410, and Bromham, Beds., 1435<sup>s</sup>. The horned head-dress, which is usually worn with this gown, is very seldom ornamented, as at Bromham, Beds., 1435; Latton, Essex, 1467, &c. Other coiffures of similar character were worn during the earlier half of the century, some of them may be seen



Elizth. Poyle, 1424, Hampton  
Poyle, Oxon.



Head of Lady, c. 1490, Baldock,  
Herts.

c. 1430. Alice de Bryan, Acton, Suffolk.

c. 1430. Dame Anne Clopton, Quinton, Gloucestershire.

1433. Johanna de Cobham, Cobham, Kent.

1434. Lady Eleanor Conquest, Flitton, Beds.

1440. A lady, Minehead, Somersetshire.

c. 1440 (ob. 1395). Lady Halsham, West Grinstead, Sussex.

1441. Elizth. Wallche, Langridge, Somerset.

1442. Lady Maria Daubeney, South Petherton, Somerset.

1446 (c. 1475?). Joyce, Lady Tiptoft,

with heraldic mantle and coronet, Enfield, Middx.

1454. Agnes Molyngton, Dartford, Kent.

c. 1460. A widow lady, Harpsden, Oxon.

c. 1460. Isabel Cheddar, Cheddar, Somerset.

c. 1480. Two ladies of the Clopton family, Long Mel'ord, Suffolk.

c. 1490. Elizth. St. Amand, Bromham, Wilts.

c. 1490. A lady, Luton, Beds.

1497 (?). Joan Swan, Stretham, Camb.

<sup>s</sup> A corresponding instance, in male costume, is at Barton, Lincolnshire, 1433.

on the figures of the wives of Reginald Spycer, 1442, at Cirencester, Gloucestershire. One more commonly in use appears on the figure of Margaret Page, 1440? in the same church; it consists of plain narrow caul, or edging, surrounding the forehead, and covered by a veil; the same head-dress is at Sudborough, Northants., c. 1415; Melton, Suffolk, c. 1430; Chipping Norton, Oxon., 1451, &c.



Head, Margaret Page,  
1440? Cirencester,  
Gloucestershire.

After 1460 the sleeves of the gown were always close, and of an uniform breadth throughout; the cuffs were large, lined with fur, and turned back. The gown was open above the waist, and had a border of fur at the edges: it

sometimes laced up in front, and beneath it the kirtle is visible, fitting close up to the neck; these peculiarities are visible in the engraving at page ccxiii., from the brass of Agnes Oxenbrigg, 1480, Etchingam, Sussex. The horned head-dress was now often more acutely pointed, as in the figures of Jane Keriell, c. 1460, Ash, and Christian Phelip, 1470, Herne, Kent (the former is a unique example); and the veil dependent behind, less ample and much shorter, as at Baldock,



Head, Jane Keriell, c. 1460,  
Ash, Kent.

Herts., c. 1480.

About the year 1470 the *wired* or *butterfly* head-dress before alluded to (page clxxi.) began to be much in fashion, especially among ladies of rank; the hair was strained into a richly ornamented cap, or caul, placed at the back of the head, over which a veil of fine materials was extended, the whole fabric being supported by wires. The dress usually worn with this preposterous head-gear was a close-fitting gown laced tightly up the body, low at the neck, with a fur edging and cuffs; the latter were frequently pulled forward over the hands. The skirt was sometimes gathered



Anna Playters, 1470, Sotterley,  
Suffolk.

up under the arm, and a plain narrow girdle was worn over the hips,

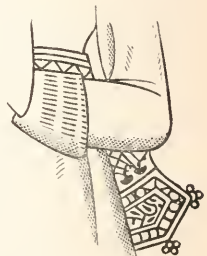
and had an ornament attached to it by a chain. Rich and broad necklaces were also now worn. The figure of Anna Playters, 1479, at Sotterley, Suffolk (see the engraving on the preceding page), is a good instance of the attire just described. The horned head-dress began to be of smaller dimensions, so as to become identified with the veil head-dress<sup>1</sup>; rosaries of several beads were now occasionally attached to the girdle, especially in brasses engraved by Norfolk and Cambridgeshire artists, e. g. St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich, 1476. In Norfolk brasses the wired head-dresses are represented of smaller size than elsewhere, and the ladies placed in a constrained attitude with their heads only turned on one side. The figure of Lady Joan Curson, 1471, at Belough, Norfolk, exhibits these peculiarities.

About 1490 the wired or butterfly head-dress merged into a bonnet (usually made of velvet), which for the sake of description has been often termed the pedimental, kennel, or diamond-shaped head-dress; it was also supported by wires, and confined the hair in a round cap at the back of the head, but it was destitute of the veil projecting behind, its leading characteristic were long frontlets, or lappets, which formed an angle over the forehead and hung down at each side. These are sometimes seen also in the wired head-dress, but they are then made of light materials, and without any ornament. When first introduced, these



Anna Broke, 1518 Ewelme, Oxon.

small drops at the edges (e. g. Bromham, Wilts., c. 1490; Ketteringham, 1499, Merton, 1520, Norfolk); afterwards they were often of velvet, and richly embroidered; similar lappets depended behind. Together with this head-dress was worn a gown, cut square at the neck, with fur visible at the edges, at the cuffs, and at the bottom of the skirt, which, in brasses made by provincial artists, had often a deep border of fur instead of the narrow edging. The waist was confined by a girdle, which at first was either fastened behind, and with a short ornamented termination (as at Hadley,



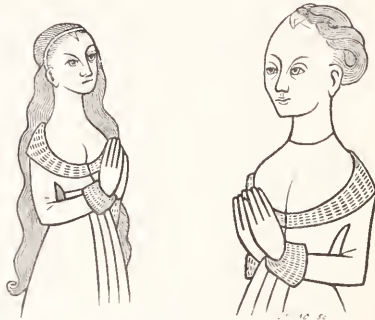
Girdle, Hadley, Middx., 1500.

<sup>1</sup> A late instance of the horned head-dress is at Sharnbrook, Beds., 1522.

Middx., 1500), or else long, narrow, and buckled in front; afterwards it was always broad, highly ornamented, and with its long end dependent in front of the skirt.

Besides the head-dresses which have been described, a few others, which it is unnecessary to particularize, were occasionally worn during the century.

It may be noticed, however, that unmarried ladies, in this and the previous and following centuries, usually wore their hair long, confined by a narrow fillet only (as at Etchingham, Sussex, 1510); sometimes a chaplet of flowers encircles the forehead, as in the figure of Margaret Brocas, c. 1360, Sherborne St. John's, Hants. (see the engraving at



Elizth. Echyngham, 1452, and Agnes Oxenbrigg, 1480, Etchingham, Suss.-x

page cxxxiv.), this was evidently intended to represent the garland placed on the head of the deceased, or suspended in the church at the funeral of an unmarried lady, nun, or widow who had married but one husband<sup>a</sup>. The following instances of brasses of unmarried ladies with flowing hair may be enumerated: Quanton, Bucks., c. 1360; Lingfield, Surrey, c. 1450; Taplow, Bucks., 1455; Blickling, 1458, 1479, Felbrigg, c. 1480, Norfolk; Low Layton, Essex, 1493;

<sup>a</sup> See supra, p. lxxxvii. note a, and the blazon of the arms of the Mercers' Company at p. cxviii.; also Weever's Fun. Mon., p. 12. In the Antiquarian Repertory, vol. iv. pp 663, 664, is an account of this ancient custom of using garlands at funerals: "In this nation, as well as by others, by the abundant zeal of our ancestors, virginity was held in great estimation; insomuch that those which died in that state were rewarded at their death with a garland, or crown, on their heads, denoting their triumphant victory over the lusts of the flesh. Nay, this honour was extended even to a widow who had never enjoyed but one husband. These garlands, or crowns, were most artificially wrought in filagree-work with gold and silver wire, in resemblance of myrtle, with which plant the funebrial garlands of the ancients

were always composed, whose leaves were fastened to hoops of larger wire of iron, lined with cloth of silver. Besides these crowns, the ancients had also their depository garlands, the use of which continued till of late years, and may perhaps still continue in some parts of England. These garlands, at the funeral of the deceased, were carried solemnly before the corpse by two maids, and afterwards hung up in some conspicuous place within the church." This custom still exists in some parishes in England, as at Ashover, Derbyshire: "The screen of Babington's chapel [in Ashover church] itself is curious, and from its gallery are suspended wreaths of white artificial flowers, one of which it is usual to consecrate on the death of an unmarried girl." Collect. Topog et Geneal., vol. ii. p. 99.

Barnes, Surrey, 1508; Mablethorpe, Lincolnshire, 1522; Chenies, Bucks., 1524. A few figures of married ladies are portrayed in similar attire, at Brabourn, Kent, 1450<sup>?</sup> Wilmslow, Cheshire, 1460; Tattershall, Lincolnshire, 1479; Muggington, Derbyshire, c. 1480; Turweston, Bucks., c. 1490<sup>\*</sup>.

### SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

HEN. VII., 1485—1509; HEN. VIII., 1509—1547; ED. VI., 1547—1553; MARY, 1553—1558; ELIZTH., 1558—1603; JAS. I., 1603—1625; CHAS. I., 1625—1649; COMMONWEALTH, 1649—1660; CHAS. II., 1660—1685; JAS. II., 1685—1688.

THE brasses at the close of the sixteenth, so much resemble in character those of the following century, and the peculiarities are so much less marked than those of an earlier date, that it seemed desirable to consider them together.

In the early half of the sixteenth century the style of engraving and design had much degenerated; the former being usually very coarse, and the latter beginning to partake of the Italian character, which was now in process of introduction into England from the Continent. The diversity of artists also is now apparent, even in the vicinity of London, but more especially in Norfolk, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Cambridgeshire, and their respective neighbourhoods, where the brasses are somewhat inferior in drawing to those in other parts of England<sup>†</sup>. Many effigies, however, of the upper classes present redeeming features; and most of those after the middle of the sixteenth century, although defective in design, are yet of careful workmanship, being the works of the principal artists. A few brasses of this date are occasionally to be met with which were engraved by provincial artists, and are little better than miserable caricatures of the deceased. Instances occur in some churches in Kent, c. 1530<sup>‡</sup>; at Bishop-Burton, Yorks., 1579(?); Quethioc, 1617,

<sup>\*</sup> There were lately others at Hunger-ton, Leicestershire, to Mary (?), wife of Brian Cave, Esq., 1510, engraved in Nichols' Leicestershire, vol. iii. pt. i. pl. 41, fig. 21, p. 282; at Lee, Kent, to Elizth. Conhyll, 1513, and at Denham, Bucks., to Amphillis Peckham, 1545.

<sup>†</sup> See *supra*, pp. xxviii., xxix. The

engraving of the Norfolk brasses is generally delicate, and the hair and fur represented by minutely waved lines. The fur on brasses at Narburgh, Norfolk, 1496, and St. Andrew's, Norwich, c. 1500, is expressed in a unique manner.

<sup>‡</sup> For example, at Ash, near Sandwich, 1525; Capel-le-Ferne, 1526; Chartham,



Launceston, c. 1620, Cornwall; Heigham, 1630, Dunston, 1649, Norfolk; Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire, 1683, &c. The brass employed during and after the reign of Queen Elizabeth was generally in thinner plates than before<sup>a</sup>, and probably manufactured in England<sup>b</sup> by being rolled instead of cast. Shading was largely bestowed upon the whole design, in order to produce a perspective effect, which contrasted strikingly with the beautiful simplicity and ease of the earlier figures. The slabs in which the brass was inlaid, instead of being, as hitherto, of Purbeck marble, were of various kinds of stone; one of a blue colour was often employed.

Brasses on the floor were rapidly losing their original character, that of recumbent effigies; and, with a few exceptions, chiefly knights<sup>c</sup>, invariably represented standing figures, which, after 1520, were nearly always turned sideways, single figures being generally inclined towards the left: the attitude is often very constrained. After the middle of the sixteenth century the ground beneath is a pavement<sup>d</sup>, or the feet stand on low circular pedestals. Thus it appears that figures on brasses took the lead of stone effigies in their posture, and were represented as standing, before the latter had raised themselves higher than to lean on their elbows. This last attitude is occasionally seen on brasses of these centuries, as at Marsworth, Bucks., 1681 (?). Towards the seventeenth century the posture is much studied, and the figures are somewhat ridiculously drawn, as if they were sitting, or rather standing, for their portraits: their bodies are turned sideways, but their faces front the spectator; one hand frequently holds a book or glove, and the other is placed on the breast. This arrangement is especially observable in the children, who are often placed in pairs beneath their parents. Old

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Ringwold, 1530; Canterbury, St. Mary's Northgate, c. 1530; St. Paul's, 1531; all small figures, and probably by the same engraver. Peculiar brasses are also in the same county, at Rainham, 1529, and Herne, 1539; the latter resembles a figure at Hockwold, Norfolk, 1532.

<sup>a</sup> Brasses engraved on thick plates generally prove to be palimpsests, e.g. Magdalen College, Oxford, 1558.

<sup>b</sup> See *supra*, p. xiv.

<sup>c</sup> During the sixteenth century many knights have helmets beneath their heads, and animals under their feet, as

at Upminster, Essex, 1591. At Bidenden, Kent, the heads of the figures of J. H. Randolph and wife, 1685, rest on cushions. Late instances of dogs at the feet of civilians and ladies are at Renbold, Beds., 1518; Cirencester, Gloucestershire, 1587, and Stopham, Sussex, 1601: in the first example the dog is attached by a cord to the belt of a gentleman, see *supra*, p. exxx.

<sup>d</sup> The pavement is seen first on brasses engraved by the Warwickshire and Cambridgeshire artists.

people are sometimes represented with staves in their hands, as at Salisbury Cathedral, 1578; Cirencester, Gloucestershire, 1587; Fomham All Saints', Suffolk, 1599, and Dunstable, Beds., 1640. Clergymen are occasionally depicted in their pulpits, as at Barwell, Leicestershire, 1613; Hackney, Middx., 1618.

Small mural brasses are now common, and affixed to the wall, probably for additional security; the figures are usually kneeling at panelled desks or tables covered with cloths, on which open books are lying; and if the memorial be that of a knight, his gauntlets are often suspended at the side of the desk, or lie on the floor with his helmet. After 1560 these mural brasses almost invariably consist of quadrangular plates<sup>c</sup> with architectural backgrounds, fixed into a stone frame. In fact, brasses had now completely become "pictures<sup>f</sup>," and were in some cases actually painted, as at St. Michael's, Oxford, 1578, and the faces were occasionally likenesses.

Several brasses in this style, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, are evidently the work of engravers of book-plates, being very finely executed<sup>g</sup>. They generally exhibit figures standing on or near altar-tombs, and in connection with curious allegorical devices, angels blowing trumpets, clouds, &c., interspersed with scrolls bearing texts of Scripture or short inscriptions. Two brasses of Provosts, and both of the date 1616, at Queen's College, Oxford, are good instances of this kind<sup>h</sup>. One of them represents Henry Robinson, who was also Bishop of Carlisle, kneeling, with his pastoral staff, and tending three sheepfolds; in his right hand is a lighted taper, round the flame of which is inscribed *Ἐπιφάναι τοῖς ἐν σκότει. Lu. 1*. In the background are buildings intended for Queen's College and Carlisle Cathedral. Henry Airay "reverendi Robinsoni (vt Eliæ Elisha) successoris et æmuli," is commemorated by a similar brass, and in the character of Elisha receiving Elijah's mantle; four miracles also of the former prophet form part of the composition. The brass of Erasmus Williams, Rector, 1608, at Tingewick, Bucks., was "contrived by his Schollar R. Haydock<sup>i</sup>;"

<sup>c</sup> See supra, p. xxi. This is also the case in late brasses on the floor; the shape of the plate being often oblong, or, if the figure be kneeling, square.

<sup>f</sup> See p. lxi., at the top.

<sup>g</sup> See supra, p. xxx.

<sup>h</sup> A full description of these brasses

will be found in the Oxford Manual for the Study of Mon. Brasses, Appendix A, pp. 182—184.

<sup>i</sup> That Haydock "was the artist there can be little doubt, and that it was Dr. Richard Haydoeke, the physician, who was a contemporary of Mr. Williams:

it consists of a half-length figure, beneath a rainbow and between two columns, on one of which are suspended the works of several classical authors, "Ptolomie, Livie, Plinie, Aristotle, Virgil," &c., and various instruments belonging to the arts and sciences. The explanation of the design is given in four verses of the inscription:—

And from Corinthiane Columne deck' with Artes,  
Now to the Temples Pillar him conuerts,  
Under the Rainbows arche of Promise, where  
Of hoped bliss no deluge he need fear.

Figures of Death as a skeleton are often introduced into this description of brasses, as at Bletchley, Bucks., where there is a small plate engraved with a medallion bust of Thomas Sparke, D.D., a celebrated Divine and Rector of Bletchley, 1616, placed against an inscribed altar-tomb, upon which stands a figure of Fame like an Angel full of eyes, blowing a trumpet; and opposite, Death casting ashes into an urn, which bears a Latin line containing a punning allusion to the name of the deceased:—

*Non extincta sepulta licet SCINTILLA favilla est.*

From the urn Fame rescues several treatises of Dr. Sparke, according to an explanation given on two scrolls:—

*Vindex Fama libros fatali tollit ab Urna,  
Sic SCINTILLA micat quam tegit atra cinis.*

At Broughton Gifford, Wilts., is a very small plate representing an altar-tomb, behind which stands a herald, in a tabard, holding a blunt spear and a handful of shields, from which Death selects one bearing the arms of the deceased, Robert Longe, Esq., 1620. The device is explained by the following lines beneath it:—

*The Life of Mann is a trewe Lottarie,  
Where venterouse Death draws forth lotts short & Longe,  
Yet free from fraude, and partiall flatterie,  
Hee shufl'd Sheilds of severall size amonge,  
Drewe Longe and soe drewe longer to (?) short daies,  
Th' auncient of daies beyonde all time to praise.*

James Gray, Park-keeper at Hunsdon, Herts., 1591, is pour-

he translated Lomatius on Painting and Engraving, and engraved his own portrait and other plates for that work." Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, 1806, vol. i. p. 650. If the brass of Henry Airay be

not the work of Remigius Hogenbergh (see *supra*, p. xxx. note u), it is perhaps that of Dr. Haydock, who may have engraved some of the other brasses mentioned in the text.

trayed as shooting with a cross-bow at a stag; between the two is Death striking a dart into each of them, and with a scroll from his mouth inscribed, "sic pergo." At Shepton Mallet, Somerset, is a brass of similar character, and evidently suggested by foreign monuments; it is in memory of Joan, wife of William Strode, Esq., 1649; the husband endeavours to stay the arm of Death in the act of striking his dart into the lady, and presenting her with a wreathed crown. Of like design is the memorial of Edmund West, 1681, at Marsworth, Bucks., who is being struck by Death amid the lamentations of his wife and family. Beside the effigy of Thomas Annot, 1577, at Lowestoft, Suffolk, there was a small figure of Death piercing the deceased with a dart, to which the inscription contains this allusion:—

*Tandem mortifera tela cruenta manu  
Mors fera visceribus torsit<sup>k</sup>.*

Sometimes the deceased is depicted as rising from the tomb at the last day, as at Leigh, Kent, c. 1580; Alton Priors, Wilts., 1580<sup>l</sup>; St. Michael's, Oxford, 1617; Pimperne, Dorset, 1694; in the last instance a lady is represented as rising from a skeleton lying on a mattress, and with a scroll issuing from her mouth bearing the text,—

O Death where is thy sting O Grave where is thy victory.

Demi-figures are rare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: they occur at Wyddial, Herts., 1575; Norton Disney, Lincolnshire, c. 1580; at the Cathedral, 1595, and other Churches in York; Winkfield, Berks., 1630, and Hadleigh, Suffolk, 1637. Effigies in shrouds, skeletons, &c., are common; and if the figures be those of a husband and wife, the deceased only is at times enveloped in a shroud, the survivor being attired in proper costume, of which we have instances at Newington-juxta-Hythe, Kent, 1501, and Edgmond, Salop, 1533. Occasionally the design was of a repulsive character, probably imitated from foreign monuments, as at Aylsham, Norfolk, 1507; Oddington, Oxon., c. 1510; in the latter brass an emaciated figure is being eaten by worms<sup>m</sup>.

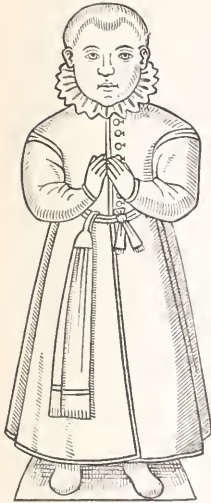
<sup>k</sup> See the engraving in Cotman's Suffolk Brasses, No. xxxi. p. 20. The inscription alone now remains.

<sup>l</sup> This instance is very finely engraved. At Bishopstoke, Hants., was (or is) a

similar brass to William Button, Esq., 1590, both probably the work of the same artist, and engraved several years after the date of decease.

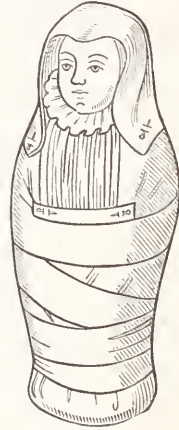
<sup>m</sup> Good specimens of shrouded figures

Single brasses of Children are common during this period; it is therefore unnecessary to cite more than a few of the more remarkable instances. At St. George's Chapel, Windsor, Dorothy and John King, 1630, 1633; and at Boxford, Suffolk, David



Peter Best, 1585, Merstham, Surrey.

Birde, 1606, are portrayed as infants in their cradles. The brasses of Peter and Richard Best, 1585, 1587, at Merstham, Surrey, afford good instances of the dress of children; the former has a handkerchief tied to his girdle; a similar appendage is on the figure of William Glynne, 1633, at Clynnog, Carnarvonshire. The effigy of Richard Best exhibits the old plan of dressing infants in swath-bondes, or swaddling clothes, which were long swathes



Richard Best, 1587, Merstham, Surrey.

of linen or other materials, wrapped round the under-clothes, and giving the child the appearance of an Egyptian mummy<sup>a</sup>. Plaited bibs, sometimes with ornamented edging (Odiham, Hants., 1636), were generally pinned on the breast. Such figures are often represented on the brasses of parents with their families (e. g. Tiltey, 1590, Barking, 1596, Essex), and indicate that the children died in their infancy. The

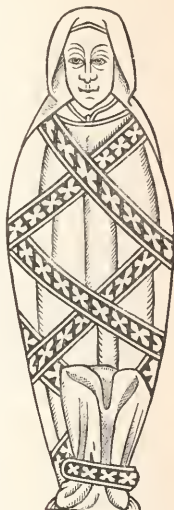
in this century are at Cley-by-the-Sea, 1512, and Loddon, 1546, Norfolk. Similar effigies remain at Watlington, Oxon., 1501; Little Horkesley, Essex, 1502; Bawburgh, Kirby Bedon, 1505, Aylsham, 1507, Norfolk; Childrey, Berks., 1507; West Molesey, Surrey, c. 1510; Minelin Hampton, Gloucestershire, c. 1510; St. Michael Coslany, Norwich, 1515; Bodyham, Sussex, 1513; Dunstable, Beds., 1518; Appleton, Berks., 1518; Horncastle, Lincolnshire, 1519; Wooburn, Bucks., c. 1520; Fincham, Norfolk, c. 1520; Southfleet, Kent, c. 1520; Fulham, Middx., 1529; Bilderham, Camb., c. 1530; Frenze, Norfolk,

c. 1530; Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford, c. 1530; Aldenham, Herts., c. 1530; Wigston's Hospital, Leicester, c. 1530? Penn, Bucks., 1540; Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxon., 1548; Chicheley, Bucks., c. 1560; Handborough, Oxon., 1567; Brampton, Northants, 1585; Cassington, Oxon., 1590; Ufford, Suffolk, 1598; Havershaw, Bucks., 1605; Crondall, Hants., 1631; West Firle, Sussex, 1638, &c.

<sup>a</sup> The same practice of swathing infants is retained in Holland, Germany, Prussia, and other parts of Europe, as well as among the North American Indians.

child was swathed in its "*chrysome*," and was itself also termed a chrysome until it was a month old; if it died before it reached that age, its chrysome served as its shroud. A good example of a brass of a chrysome child remains at Chesham Bois, Bucks., c. 1520. Sometimes the garment was marked with a cross on the forehead or breast, as at Taplow, Bucks., 1455; Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey, 1516; Hornsey, Middx., c. 1530; Birehington, Kent, 1533.

Such figures are not uncommon on the brasses of their parents, and when the mother died in childbirth she sometimes holds her dead infant in her arms; e. g. Anne Asteley, 1512, Blickling, Norfolk (see the engraving on the opposite page); Dorothy Parkinson, 1592, Haughton-le-Skerne, Durham, each with twins; Elizth. Death, 1590, Dartford, Kent, and Elizth. Marrowe, 1601, Cliford Chambers, Gloucestershire<sup>p</sup>. Sometimes the mother is represented in her bed, with the dead



Benedict Lee, Chrysome,  
c. 1520, Chesham Bois,  
Bucks.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>o</sup> The chrysome (*chrismale*) was the white cloth with which infants were invested immediately after their baptism, and before they were anointed with the chrysm, or baptismal oil. See the Rubric in the "Office of Publike Baptisme," in the First Prayer-book of Edward VI., 1549, reprinted by Wm. Pickering, London, 1844, fol. cxvi. a.: "Then the Godfathers and Godmothers shall take and lay theyr handes vpon the childe, and the minister shall put vpon him his white vesture, commonly called the Crisome: And saye.

Take this white vesture for a tokē of the innocencie, whiche by God's grace, in this holy sacramente of Baptisme, is geuen vnto the: & for a signe wherby thou art admonished, so long as thou lyest, to geue thy selfe to innocencie of liuing, that after this transitory lyfe, thou mayst be partaker of the lyfe euerlasting. Amen."

In the last rubric but one of the same office is this direction.—

"The minister shall commaunde that the Crisomes be brought to the ehurche and delyuered after the preistes after the accustomed maner, at the purification

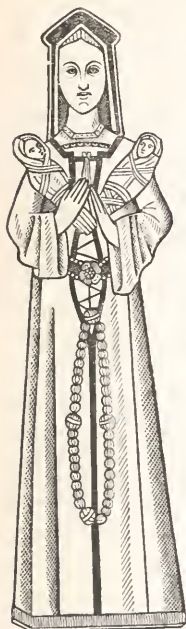
of the mother of euery chylde."

Accordingly, in the rubric at the end of the Order of the "Purificacion of weomen," it is added: "The woman that is purifyed, must offer her Chrysome, and other accustomed offeringes." Ibid., fol. cxxxvi. b. In some constitutions of the English Church made in 1223 (const. 1) and 1236 (const. 13), the same orders are given for the disposal of the chrysom-cloth. See Johnson's Eng. Canons, ed. 1851, vol. ii. pp. 123, 135. In the constitution made in the latter year, it is directed: "Let the chrysons be made use of for the ornaments of the church only." Upon which Johnson remarks that "chrysons might be used for the making or mending surplices, amits, albs; or the wrapping up the chalice, covering the crosses," &c.

<sup>p</sup> There was another example at Norton, Derbyshire, on the brass of a daughter of Leonard Gyll, Gent., who married Major Spencer of Atterclyff. See Add. MS. 6701, p. 60, in the British Museum.

<sup>q</sup> The inscription beneath the figure is as follows: *Of Roq' The gentilmā here lyeth the sōn Benedict Lee chrysom' whos soule ihū pū.* Brasses of children

child lying on the coverlid, or near the parent; of which instances remain at Heston, Middx., c. 1580; Halling, Kent, 1587; Hurst, Berks., c. 1600; Wormington, Gloucestershire, 1605, and Holywell Church, Oxford, 1622; the last has four children placed on the bed, and commemorates Eliza Franklin, "who dangerously escaping death at 3 severall travells in childe-bed died together w<sup>th</sup> the fovrth, 1622 r." Skulls were placed over the heads of children, especially in the seventeenth century, to shew that they were dead, and sometimes the word "dede" was superscribed, together with the Christian name or initials<sup>s</sup>.



Anne Astley, 1612,  
Blickling, Norfolk.

The Canopies of brasses just before the Reformation are of a very debased character; the crockets are usually very heavy, and recurved towards the pediment (see the annexed engraving), the soffit of which is often destitute of cusping. Sometimes the pediments resemble those of the niches of the period, consisting of three low arches support-

ing an entablature, with the spandrils pannelled, the whole being drawn in perspective: instances are at Wivenhoe, Essex, 1507; Ashbourn, Derbyshire, 1538<sup>t</sup>. After the Reformation canopies are very rarely found, except the small examples on mural brasses, hardly



Finial,  
Hillingdon,  
Middx., 1509.

similarly represented are at Rougham, 1505, 1510, Ketteringham, c. 1530, Norfolk; Hornsey, c. 1530, Pinner, 1580, Middx.; Aveley, Essex, 1583; Lavenham, Suffolk, 1631; Odiham, Hants., 1636.

<sup>r</sup> Another instance existed in the old church of Weston-on-the-Green, Oxon.; it commemorated Ales, wife of Zachary Saxeye (both servants of the Rt. Hon. Lady of Thame) and her twins, 1581. See Rawlinson's MS. No. 397, fol. 232 a, in the Bodleian, Oxford, and Harleian MS. No. 4,170, p. 14, in Brit. Mus. Lipscomb, in his History of Bucks., vol. iii. p. 140, mentions an incised slab with the same design, as existing at Water-Stratford, Bucks.

<sup>s</sup> The indentation for the tomb of Thos. Fermor, Esq., quoted supra, p. xxxii. note x, shews the usual directions given for representing children on monuments of this period.

<sup>t</sup> Instances of canopied brasses in the earlier part of the sixteenth century are the following: Ardingley, Sussex, c. 1500, 1504; Nayland, Suffolk, 1503 (?); Cobham, Kent, 1506; Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1506; Wivenhoe, Essex, 1507, 1537; Hillingdon, Middx., 1509; Chemies, Bucks., 1510; Little Wenham, Suffolk, 1514; Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1526; Hereford Cathedral, 1529; St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, 1529; Faversham, Kent, 1533.

deserving the name, with flat arches cusped or composed of scroll-work, and shields in the spandrels.

Such a convulsion in the habits and feelings of the people as took place in England at the time of the Reformation, would lead us naturally to expect a great change in the Ecclesiastical Emblems, and the phraseology of the Inscriptions. Accordingly, the Latin cross-brass previously in use is found only in the early part of the sixteenth century; as at Royston, Herts., c. 1500 (with the five wounds); Eversley, Hants., 1502, (composed of interlaced strips or bands of brass); Sutton, Beds., 1516; Penshurst, Kent, c. 1520, and Floore, Northants., 1537. Matrices of others may be seen at Iselham, Cambridgeshire, 1516; Launton, Oxon, c. 1520? St. Andrew's, Norwich, 1541, &c. A small cross, however, at North Tuddenham, Norfolk, as late as 1625, commemorates Francisca Skippe, aged two years. Other symbols, common before the Reformation, are representations of the Holy Trinity<sup>u</sup>, also hearts and chalices as simple devices. Late instances of Evangelistic symbols at the angles of the border inscriptions remain on the brasses of bishops at Ely, 1554; Tideswell, Derbyshire, 1579; Chigwell, Essex, 1631, and also at West Hanney, Berks., 1557. At St. Mellion's, Cornwall, on the brass of Peter Coryton, Esq., and wife, 1551, some animals (a lion, talbot, &c.), which form part of their armorial bearings, are substituted for the symbols of the evangelists. Similarly, the representation of the Holy Trinity on the brass at Kenton, Suffolk, 1524, has been replaced by heraldic insignia on the copied brass, c. 1600, at Ringsfield, in the same county<sup>x</sup>. After the Reformation, skulls and cross-bones, with figures of death, were almost the only emblems retained (e. g. Lindfield, Sussex, 1567, 1655). About the end of the sixteenth century hour-glasses, spades, pickaxes and lanterns made their appearance; as at Crawley, Bucks., 1589; Pimperne, Dorsetshire, 1694; Ryton, Warwickshire, 1712, &c. Small oblong plates, with the armorial bearings of the deceased, surmounted by his helmet, with crest and mantling, are common over figures after c. 1550.

The inscriptions<sup>y</sup> of civilians before the Reformation are generally

<sup>u</sup> See p. cii. *B*. It is worthy of notice that on the brass of Robert Sutton, 1528, at St. Patrick's, Dublin, this emblem is covered by a veil, as if it were

considered too sacred to be openly displayed.

<sup>x</sup> See *supra*, p. lii.

<sup>y</sup> In inscriptions c. 1510—1520, the



in English, which is usually very badly spelt, and ungrammatical. Afterwards the same language became prevalent on the brasses of all ranks. Inscriptions, c. 1520—1560, frequently have lines round them, and shortly afterwards an ornamented border, usually with the guilloche pattern. Roman capitals come into more general use about the close of the sixteenth century: the inscription at Hever, Kent, to Sir Thomas Bullen, 1538, father of Queen Anna Boleyn, is an early instance of their use on a brass<sup>2</sup>.

The epitaphs of the period under consideration furnish much more information than those of an earlier date respecting the family of the individuals commemorated, especially if they are persons of rank<sup>a</sup>: the age of the person is often mentioned, and sometimes the cause of death, especially in the case of women dying in childbirth, or of persons carried off by a plague, as on the inscriptions at Berkhamstead, Herts., of Robert Incent, 1485 (engraved c. 1520), who died "at the grete swetyng syknessc;" at Lanteglos-by-Fowey, Cornwall, of John and Anne Mohun, 1508 (engraved c. 1525), "qui...obierūt mense Septembris intra viginti quatuor horas ex iŕmūat<sup>e</sup> vocat' sudore;" and at Hitcham, Bucks., of Nicholas Clarke, Esq., who "Dyrd of the swect in moneth of Julye," 1551<sup>b</sup>. After the middle of the sixteenth century, the ages of the deceased<sup>c</sup>, the number of years they may have been married, and the names of their children are often introduced; sometimes a slight sketch of the history of the commemorated, and frequently verses, especially Latin elegiacs, of an adulatory strain, are to be met with. Very rarely the epitaph is in the form of a prayer (Amphill, Beds., c. 1520 (?); Penn, Bucks., 1540), or of

contraction for 'and,' in the date, is liable to be mistaken for '1,' and the date mis-read fifty years in advance, e. g. M<sup>t</sup> V<sup>c</sup> & XIX, 1569 instead of 1519, Shorne, Kent. Similar instances are at Penshurst, Kent, 1514; Hatley Cockayn, Beds., 1515; Yateley, Hants., 1517, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Other instances are at March, Camb., 1507; Great Ormesby, Norfolk, 1529.

<sup>a</sup> As instances of minuteness may be cited, the epitaph at St. Michael Coslany, Norwich, 1501, to Rich. Ferror, who died "hora quasi . x . post meridiem;" also an inscription incised on a stone at All Hallows' Barking, London, to Elizabeth Denham, "whō departed unto god on Wednesday at 6 of ye clok at afternoon Ester Weeke ye last day of

Marche A<sup>o</sup> D<sup>t</sup> 1540."

<sup>b</sup> At Braceborough, Lincolnshire, there was a brass to Thos. de Waste-neys and wife Joan "le quel...morust en le graund pestilence Pan de grace 1349." See Gough's Collections for Lincolnshire, in the Bodleian, Oxford, No. 11, p. 241, transcribed from the Harleian MS. (No. 6,829) by Gervase Hollis.

<sup>c</sup> An early and perhaps unique instance of the age of the deceased on a brass of the fifteenth century remains at Blickling, Norfolk, in the inscription of Cecile Boleyn "whiche...decessed in hir maydenhode of the age of . 1 . yeares," 1458.

a dialogue (St. Decuman's, Somerset, 1596). The name of the person, generally the widow or widower, who erected the memorial, is frequently mentioned in the inscription.

The sentences, scrolls, and sets of verses in common use in the last century are also found before 1535; in addition to these, we now find the following:—

At Feversham, Kent, 1533:—

Who so hym be thought, Forwardly & oft,  
how hard it were to flitt, frome hed bn to pytt,  
from pitt unto pappn, that neu' shall ceasse certayn,  
he wold not do on spon, all p<sup>is</sup> world to wine<sup>d</sup>.

At Witney, Oxon., 1501, Luton, Beds., 1513, and Northleach, Gloucestershire, c. 1530:—

[Man in what] state that euer thow be  
Timor mortis shulde trouble the  
for When thew leest Wenpst  
benct te  
mors sup(er)arc  
[And] so thy grave grevys  
Ergo mortis memorar<sup>e</sup>.

A brass, with shrouded figures, at Wooburn, Bucks., c. 1520, affords a good specimen of the style of English inscriptions at the early part of the sixteenth century:—

Ioke suche as we ar, suche schall ye be,  
And such as we were, suche be [ye?]  
Of yt which was vnsu'r. now ar we s'teyne,  
O blissyd trinite saue vs fro payne.  
Thought we be gone & past out of mynde. As ye wold be  
payed for, pray for vs. To the moost glorious trinite  
for be ye sur · when ye haue all done,  
this paygant schall ye play · ye ne wote howe sone.  
Therowe now that we may haue the more mede  
sey A paternoster. Ave and A Crede.

After the Reformation the following lines appear to have been favourites, as they are found at Egham, Surrey, 1576; Tideswell,

<sup>d</sup> Weever (Fun. Mon., p. 625) gives a similar inscription from Saffron Walden, Essex.

<sup>e</sup> The above is copied from Northleach; see supra, pp. xevi., cxxxi., note b. The same was remaining in 1822 on a brass at Great Tew, Oxon., 1513. The epitaph

of Jas. Hobart, Esq., 1615, and wife, Loddon, Norfolk, ends thus:—

FOR VERTVE & HOSPITALITY  
DEO HOMINIBVSQ; CARL.

See Oxford Manual of Mon. Brasses, Nos. 324, 405, pp. 129, 163.

Derbyshire, 1579; Wilton, Wilts., 1585; Wormley, Herts., 1598, and Orford, Suffolk, 1605 :—

Christ is to me as life on earth, and death to me is gain  
Because I truste thorow him alone, saluation to obtayne  
So brittle is the state of mān, so soone it dothe decay,  
So all the glory of the worlde must passe and fade away<sup>f</sup>.

The following stanza is not unfrequently to be met with, as at Coggeshall, Essex, 1580; Wooton-Underwood, Bucks., 1587; Berry Pomeroy, Devon, 1590; Ufford, Suffolk, 1598 :—

Thou mortall man yt wouldest attayne  
The happie habon of heabently rest  
prepare thyself: of graces all,  
fayth and repentance is the best<sup>g</sup>.

Acrostics and anagrams are occasionally found after the year 1580: instances of the former are at Mawgan, Cornwall, c. 1580; Burnham, Bucks., 1581<sup>h</sup>; Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1584; South Barrow, Somersetshire; Ashbocking, Suffolk, 1619; Masham, Yorks., 1689. Examples of the latter occur at Cowling, Kent, 1639, on Sybel Sparke (Speakes Blys); at Taplow, Bucks., 1617, on Hester Manfield (Mars fled in thee); and at St. Mary's, Warwick, 1636, as follows :—

Anagrama.

Mistres Cissely Puckering  
I sleep seure, Christ's my king.  
Deaths terrors nought affright mee, nor his sting;  
I sleep seure for Christ's my Sovereigne King.

At this period the pious ejaculations on scrolls, &c., formerly in use, were superseded by short texts of Holy Scripture and moral sentences, or rather mottos, such as the following :—

Post tenebras spero lucem.  
F'ibit post funera virtus.  
Hodie mihi, cras tibi.  
Sic transit gloria mundi.

<sup>f</sup> The above is at Wormley. The same was on a marginal inscription on a brass of the Butler family, 1584, at St. Lawrence's, Reading. See Ashmole's Berks., p. 350. It is also on a modern headstone (1847) at Hempstead, near Gloucester.

<sup>g</sup> This is taken from the brass at

Berry Pomeroy. It was also at Eton College Chapel (see Cole's MS. No. xxx. fol. 75, in the British Museum), and at Totness, Devon; at which place were also the foregoing verses. See The Topographer for 1789, vol. i. No. iv., p. 207.

<sup>h</sup> See Appendix B.

*fiat voluntas Dei.*

*Beati qui moriuntur in Domino.*

*Christus mihi vita, mors mihi lucrum.*

The invitation to "pray for the soul," was generally discontinued after the Reformation<sup>i</sup>, and "Here lyeth buried the body," &c., substituted for it; the "cujus anime," "on whose soule," &c., was frequently replaced by "to whom God grant a joyful resurrection," e. g., East Wickham, Kent, 1568; Rawreth and Waltham Abbey, 1576, Essex; St. Clement's, Hastings, Sussex, 1601, &c. The ancient forms reappeared in the time of Queen Mary; for instance, at Digswell, Herts., and Westerham, Kent, 1557. At the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign the clause, "on whose soule God have mercy," &c., is not uncommon; for example, Henfield, 1559, and West Firle, 1595, &c., Sussex; Hayes, c. 1560, and Westerham, 1567, Kent; Northolt, Middx., c. 1560; Rotherham, Yorks., 1561; Titsey, Surrey, 1579, &c. The following expressions may be specially noticed:—

At Chesham Bois, Bucks., on the brass of Robert Cheyne, Esq., 1552, "whose Soule we Coīend to God's infinite marcy."

At St. Mary's, Warwick, 1573:—

"Of your charytc giue thanks for the Soules of Thomas Eken & Jone his wyff on whose Soules Jesus hath m'cy, Jesus hath m'cy amen."

On the inscription formerly at St. George's, Windsor, to John Thompson, Prebendary, 1571<sup>k</sup>:—

"whose soule we hope abides in blisse, of heabdenly loye & r[est]  
with prophet<sup>s</sup> & w<sup>th</sup> patriarkes in faithfull Abrams bres[t]."

<sup>i</sup> The epitaph formerly on the brass of John Marsham and wife, St. John's Maddermarket, Norwich, 1525, is a

curious instance of the change of opinion. The original inscription was in ten English lines, and concluded,—

*We shall not lose your charitable deuocion  
xii Cardinals haue granted you xii dayes of Pardon.*

The plate was afterwards reversed, and the new inscription engraved on the back, "Of your Charyte." &c., and it concluded, "on whose soules," &c. See

Cotman's *Norf. Brasses*, vol. i. p. xxxiii. At Great Coates, Lincolnshire, on the brass of Sir Thos. Barnardiston and lady, 1503, is a similar grant of pardon:—

*of n̄ charite say a p̄ noster aue & cred  
& ye schall haue a C dayes of p'don to yor mēd.*

See also the inscription at Macclesfield, quoted *supra*, p. ci.

<sup>k</sup> It is now in the possession of J. B. Nichols, Esq. Judging from the similarity of expression and the date the

composer of these lines probably wrote those also on the brass at Eton, 1572, to Thomas Smith, ending, "whose soule we hope dothe now remain in Abrams brest."

Several examples of the style of inscriptions, on brasses of various periods, will be found in the Appendix B at the end of this volume.

*Ecclesiastics.* Before the Reformation, the figures are usually small, with straight hair, and those in eucharistical vestments often hold chalices, with wafers inscribed IHS (see the engraving at page xlvi.) The chasuble is often of unbecomingly ample size, and has generally an orphrey round the edge, and sometimes down the centre also; the apparels, as at the end of the last century, are mostly the jewel pattern, or the lozenge-shaped diaper. The sleeves of the albe are loose, and the apparels at the wrist ornamented with a diaper, instead of a single foliated square; the apparel at the feet is often placed a little above the bottom of the albe<sup>1</sup>. The vestments appear now to be very carelessly delineated on the brasses, the maniple or stole being occasionally omitted, especially on figures engraved by the provincial artists<sup>m</sup>.

Priests in the almuce and surplice are now common<sup>n</sup>. The cassock worn under these, and under the academical dresses, was the same as the ordinary habit of civilians, and often had buttons beneath the sleeves. The canonical vestments appear on brasses as late as the end of the reign of Henry VIII.; a good example remains at Hackney, Middx., 1521, (see the engraving on the next page<sup>o</sup>): a few instances occur in that of Edward VI. and Queen Mary; as at Sessay, Yorks., 1550; Christ Church Cathedral, 1557<sup>p</sup>, and Magdalen College, Oxford, 1558, but not later<sup>q</sup>. A single exception is

<sup>1</sup> The following is a list of some good instances in this century of ecclesiastics in eucharistical vestments:—

1503. Adam Owlawe, West Lynn, Norfolk.

c. 1510. Alex. Inglisse, Campsey Ash, Suffolk.

c. 1510. A Priest, Ashover, Derbyshire.

1518. Thos. Lawne, St. Cross, Hants.

1519. John Bloxham, Great Addington, Northants.

1519. John Wryght, Clothall, Herts.

1533. Wm. Wardysworth, Betchworth, Surrey.

<sup>m</sup> See supra, p. lxxviii. At Lillingstone Lovell, Oxon., on the figure of Rich. Blakysley, the stole is at his left side only.

<sup>n</sup> See supra, p. lxxix.

<sup>o</sup> The author is indebted to J. R. D. Tyssen, Esq., F.S.A., for the loan of this engraving, and that on p. cexxxi.

<sup>p</sup> See supra, p. lxxx.

<sup>q</sup> The following are in processional habits:—

1501. Thos. Worsley, Wimpole, Cambridgeshire.

1509. John Norton, South Creak, Norfolk.

c. 1510. Rich. Bewfforeste, Dorechester, Oxon. (see the engraving at p. lxxv.)

c. 1510. Rich. Wylleys, Higham Ferrers, Northants.

c. 1510. Walter Hewke, Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

c. 1510. A Priest, Tattershall, Lincolnshire. This and the preceding effigy

the brass of Samuel Harsnett, Archbishop of York, 1631, at Chigwell, Essex; who is represented in a mitre, rich cope, rochet, and chimere, holding a pastoral staff. Three brasses remain of bishops of the dates 1554, 1556, 1579, in full eucharistical vestments<sup>r</sup>.

It is well known that the present Book of Common Prayer of our Church directs<sup>s</sup> that the "ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all Times of their Ministration," shall be the same as they were "in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth" (1549). These were, for the bishop, "besyde his rochette, a Surples or albe, and a cope or vestment (i. e. chasuble), and also his pastorall staffe in his hande, or elles borne or holden by his chapeleyne." For the

are engraved by the same artist, and have the orphreys enriched with figures of saints.

1511. Thos. Wilkynson, Orpington, Kent.

1512. Silvester Gabriel, Croydon, Surrey.

1517. Wm. Lichefeld, Willesden, Middx.

1518. Robt. Langton, Queen's Coll., Oxford.

1519. Thos. Swayn, Wooburn Deincourt, Bucks.

c. 1520. A Priest, Dowdeswell, Gloucestershire.

1521. Chr. Urswic, Hackney, Middx.

1521. John Rede, New Coll., Oxford.

1525. Warin Penkallinyk, Wendron, Cornwall.

1541. Thos. Dallyson, Clothall, Herts.

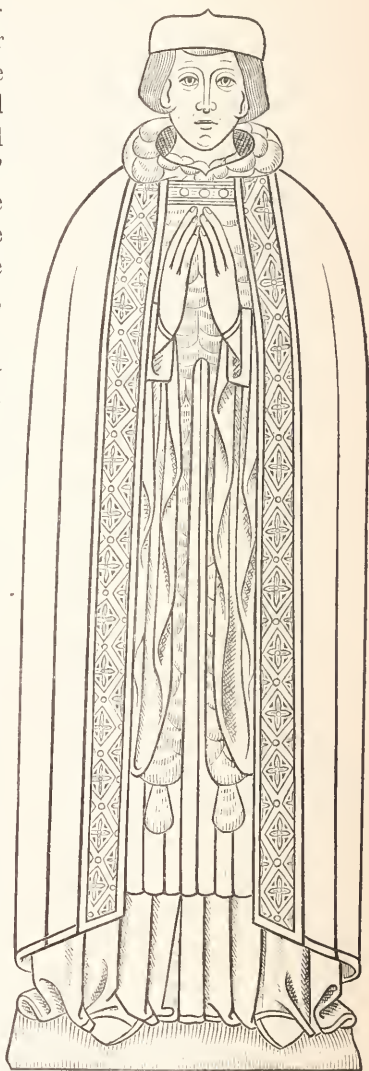
1545. Thos. Capp, St. Stephen's, Southgate, Norwich.

c. 1545. John White, Winchester Coll., Hants.

1550. Thos. Magnus, Sessay, Yorks.

<sup>r</sup> See supra, p. lxxiii.

<sup>s</sup> Rubric before Morning Prayer.



Christopher Urswic, 1521. Hackney, Middx.

priest ministering the Holy Communion, "a white Albe plain, with a vestement, or Cope;" for the assistant priests and the deacons, "Albes with tunacles." On Wednesdays and Fridays, after saying or singing the Litany, the priest, before he said the Ante-communion Service, was to put on a "playn Albe or surplesse, with a cope." During the morning and evening prayer, and while baptizing or burying, "a Surples." In all cathedrals and colleges, graduates might "use in the quiere, besides their Surplesses, such hoodes as pertaineth to their seueral degrees<sup>t</sup>." It does not appear that these directions were regularly attended to, at least these vestments do not appear on brasses. The albe being directed to be always worn plain, or without apparels, and thereby one of its principal distinctions from the surplice removed, the use of the two vestments being permitted indifferently, and then for a short time the wearing the latter forbidden (1552<sup>u</sup>); the albe, therefore, appears to have been soon discarded<sup>x</sup>: accordingly, we find on brasses of priests in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the surplice, or plain albe, with or without a stole or scarf (e. g. Denham, Bucks., 1560), and sometimes a hood, but afterwards the usual dress is not the surplice, but the Genevan, or ordinary civilian's gown; a scull-cap is also found on Doctors of Divinity.



Leonard Hurst, 1560,  
Denham, Bucks.

The figures on the brasses of Bishop Guest, 1578, Salisbury

<sup>t</sup> See The First Book of Edward VI., 1549, reprinted at London by William Pickering, 1844, fol. exli. b, c. b, ex. a.

<sup>u</sup> "And here is to be noted that the minister at the tyme of the comunion, & at al other times in his ministracion, shall use nether Albe, Vestemēt, nor Cope: but beyng Archebishop, or Bishop, he shal haue and weare a rochet: & beyng a priest or Deacon, he shal haue and weare a surples only." Second paragraph of the Rubric before the Morning Prayer in the Second Book of Edward VI., 1552, reprinted by Pickering, 1844.

It was in deference to the wishes of Queen Elizabeth that a rubric (similar to that in our Prayer-book) was inserted in her First Book, 1559, directing the minister to adopt the ornaments which were in use in the second year of the reign of Edward VI.

<sup>x</sup> The chasuble or vestment seems to have been occasionally worn as late as the seventeenth century, the cope as late as the eighteenth (e. g. at Durham and Westminster), especially on great occasions; it is even now used at coronations. See *Hierurgia Anglicana*, p. 140 seq.

Cathedral, and of Bishop Robinson, 1616, at Carlisle Cathedral and Queen's College, Oxford, are apparently in rochets of white linen, black satin *chimeres*<sup>y</sup> open in front, with lawn sleeves attached to them, and scarfs. The latter has a scull-cap, and holds in his hand a pastoral staff curiously inscribed<sup>z</sup>.

*Military.* The armour worn at the close of the last century is found on brasses as late as the end of the reign of Henry VIII. with but trifling alterations, the chief of which are, that the breast-plate assumes a still more globular form, and the *coutes* and *genouillières* are often ornamented with small rosettes: the brass of John Lymsey, Esq., 1545, at Hackney, Middx. (see the engraving on the opposite page) is a late instance of this attire<sup>a</sup>; others may be seen at Addington, Surrey, 1540; Charwelton, Northants., 1541; Nettle-den, Bucks., 1545; Flitton, Beds., 1545. About the year 1525 several military figures were engraved in the style shewn by the

<sup>y</sup> In consequence of the objections of Bishop Hooper at his consecration to the scarlet chimere, the colour was afterwards, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, altered to black.

<sup>z</sup> See *supra*, p. lxxii., note b. The following is a list of some brasses of ecclesiastics after the Reformation:—

1560. Leonard Hurst, Denham, Bucks.

1561. Wm. Bill, Dean, Westminster Abbey.

1566. John Fenton, Coleshill, Warwickshire.

1567. Wm. Dye, Westerham, Kent.

c. 1580. Patrick Fearn and wife, Sandon, Essex.

1582. Nich. Asheton, Whichford, Warwickshire.

1589. John Garbrand, Crawley, Bucks.

1591. Henry Wilsha, Storrington, Sussex.

1594. Wm. Heathcott, Aylestone, Leicestershire.

c. 1600. John Crosyer, Barrow, Suffolk.

c. 1600. Vincent Huffam and wife, St. James's, Dover, Kent.

1602. Wm. Lucas, Clothall, Herts.

1606. John Metcalfe, Stonham Aspal, Suffolk.

1608. Erasmus Williams, Tingewick, Bucks.

1608. John Burton, Burgh, Norfolk.

1610. Peter Winder, Whitchurch, Oxon.

1610. Isaia Bures, Northolt, Middx.

1614. Humfrey Tyndall, Dean, Ely Cathedral.

1614. John Torksey, Barwell, Leicestershire.

1615. John Wythines, Dean, Battle, Sussex.

1616. Hen. Airay, Queen's College, Oxford.

1616. Thos. Sparke, Bletchley, Bucks.

1617. Wm. Lee, Stapleford, Camb.

1618. Hugh Johnson, Hackney, Middx.

1618. Wm. Palke and wife, High Halstow, Kent.

1619. Hen. Mason, Eyke, Suffolk.

1621. Andrew Willet, Barley, Herts.

1631. Maurice Hughes, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire.

1632. Edward Nayler and wife, Bigby, Leicestershire.

1648. Rice Jemlae, Husband's Bosworth, Leicestershire.

There are also incised stones at Ledbury, Herefordshire, to Edw. Cooper, 1596; at Denham, Bucks., to Philip Edelen, 1656, and at Bletchley, Bucks., to Edward Taylor, 1693.

<sup>a</sup> See *supra*, p. l. note l, and p. cccxvii. note o.

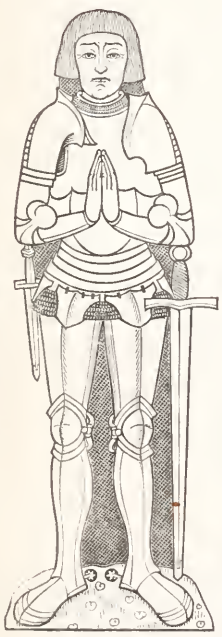




Off your charite praye for the Soules of John Lynsey



In the yere of oþre lord god a .m. cccc. xlv. and the said margarett deceyded þe day of þat dymyng on whos soull þu haue mercy s



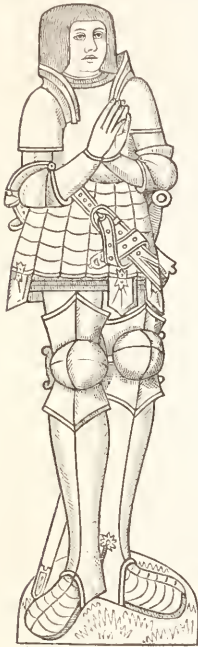
Requere late one of the vi Clerkys of the kyngys most hight Courte of Chancery þe Margarett his wyf þe Edward Robert and Thomas the Chylder god



the whiche John deceyded the xv day of prober



annexed representation of the brass of Henry Stanley, Esq., 1528, at Hillingdon, Middx.: chains supporting Tau crosses were now commonly worn round the neck. Similar effigies occur at Finch-  
ingfield, Essex, 1523; Crosthwaite, Cumberland,



James Peckham, Esq.?  
c. 1530, Wrotham, Kent.

1527; Kentisbeare, Devon, 1529 (lost?); Great Barford, Beds., Lanteglos-by-Fowey, Cornwall, Morley, Derbyshire, Wrotham, Kent, Shere, Surrey, &c., all engraved about the year 1525. A few brasses remain (e. g. at Wootton-Wawen, Warwickshire, 1505; Sundridge, 1520, Brabourne, 1527, Kent; Moulsoe, Bucks., 1528) in which the breast and back-plates have a large skirt apparently composed of small oblong plates, with one tuilette depending from it at the front and two at the sides. This peculiarity, which is well exemplified by a brass at Wrotham, Kent, c. 1530, is perhaps intended for the skirt of lamboys (Gall. *lambeau*), which was a puckered skirt of cloth or velvet, worn over the thighs, and sometimes imitated by plate armour<sup>b</sup>.



Hen. Stanley, Esq., 1528,  
Hillingdon, Middx.

<sup>b</sup> The imitation of the ordinary costume in the form and ornament of the armour in this century, is very remarkable, the steel plates being wrought to resemble the puffed and ribbed dresses. On brasses this peculiarity is especially observable in the sabbatons and the light shoulder-pieces. Brasses of armed figures, especially of Esquires of the Royal Household, are very common in this century: a few instances may be mentioned:—

1502. Wm. Poyntz, Esq., and wife, North Ockendon, Essex.

1505. Sir Humfrey Stanley, Westminster Abbey.

1507. Viscount Beaumont, Wivenhoe, Essex.

1508. Rich. Blount, Esq., and wife, Iver, Bucks.

1508. Sir John Crockker, Yealhampton, Devon.

1510. John Leventhorp, Esq., Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street, London.

1511. Rich. Gyll, Esq., Shottesbrooke, Berks.

1513. John Aeworth, Esq., and wives, Luton, Beds.

1513. Thos. Heveningham, daughter, and parents, Writtle, Essex.

1513. John Toke, Esq., and wives, Great Chart, Kent.

Comparatively few brasses remain with armed figures engraved by provincial artists. Those at Hunstanton, 1506, West Harling, 1508, Shottisham, 1528, Great Ormesby, 1529 (see the engraving on the next page), Kimberley, c. 1530, Brampton, 1535, Norfolk, and Little Thurlow, Suffolk, c. 1510, in which the mail is chiefly represented as that of camails of knights c. 1400<sup>c</sup>, may be instanced as specimens of the work of Norfolk engravers. The brasses of Sir Robt. Demoke, 1545, Scrivelsby, Lincolnshire, and of Thomas Shuckburgh, Esq., 1560, at Shuckburgh Superior, Warwickshire,

1514. Sir John Danvers and lady, Dauntsey, Wilts.

1514. John Butler, Watton, Herts.

1514. Thos. Brewse, Esq., and wife, Little Wenham, Suffolk.

1514. Sir Rich. Delamere and wives, Hereford Cathedral.

1524. Philip Chatwyn, Esq., Alvechurch, Worcestershire.

The brass of Sir Hugh Johnys, c. 1500, at Swansea, Glamorganshire, is also a good example of military costume; in the representation on it of our blessed Saviour's resurrection, there are four soldiers guarding the sepulchre, and differently armed; two have *halbards* ("Teutonic, *Alle-bard*, i. e. cleave all"); a third, who is perhaps intended for a Saracen, has a scimitar and spiked mace; and the fourth "a morning star" or "holy water-sprinkle," "a weapon used from the Conquest till the time of Henry VIII., being a ball of wood containing spikes of iron, and suspended by a chain from a pole. It was much used in trenches and on board ship. . . . To sprinkle the holy water was the cant phrase for fetching blood, which will account for the appellation, as there is no resemblance between the weapon so called and the aspergillum." See Meyrick's *Illustrations of Ancient Armour*, by Skelton, vol. ii. plates xc., xcii., xciii. The morning star seems to have been used in South Wales as early as the eleventh century. See Meyrick's *Anc. Armour*, vol. i. p. 19.

In the *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv. ed. 1809, pp. 357, 361, 365, are printed some household expences and inventories of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, at the siege of Turwin (or Teronanne), in France, 1513, which contain several interesting particulars relating to armour, and amongst them the following:—

"First ij armyng pateletts of white satten, quilted and lyned w<sup>th</sup> lynnyn cloth, for my Lord to vere vnder his harnes.

"First a trusingy boulder of white fustian for my lord to were abowt his myddell vnder his harness for berryng vp of the currese.

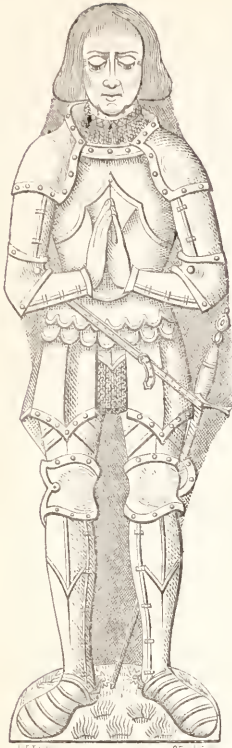
"It'm ij cotts of armys for my Lord, of sattyn, videl't Cremysyn, blew & grene, w<sup>th</sup> his armys bettyn vpon it w<sup>th</sup> fyne gold in oyle coulloures.

"It'm cccc. paire of almen renetts w' tass and all oyr things belongyge to yeme; videl' cccc saletts cccc gorgetts, and cccc p'e of splints whereof ccc p'e of them for archard and c p'e for bill men."

The arming partlet described in the first item was also termed *Haustment* (Gall. *ajustement*); it was generally made of stuff, and had sleeves; it succeeded the gambeson and haunqueton.

The pairs of *Almaine* or German rivets, mentioned in the last item, were flexible armour for the body, composed of overlapping bands of steel united by rivets; these rivets were firmly fastened to the upper plate, but allowed to slide a certain distance in small openings in the lower plate, but not so far as to expose its edge.

<sup>c</sup> See *supra*, p. clxi. Later instances in Norfolk are at Loddon, 1561; Merton, 1562; St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich, 1568. See *supra*, pp. lii., cexiv. The brasses in the same county, at Ketteringham, 1499, and Merton, 1520 (c. 1500?), are perhaps by Norfolk artists, as may be also the large and curious effigy of Sir Thos. Bullen, 1538, at Hever, Kent. Nearly all the Norfolk brasses recently alluded to will be found among Cotman's illustrations.



Sir Robt. Clere, 1529. Great Ormestry.  
Norfolk.

were no doubt the productions of local artists. The effigy at Acton, Suffolk, of Henry Bures, Esq., c. 1530, is probably the work of a Suffolk engraver; the chief peculiarities are the form of the gauntlets, the position of the tiles at the sides of the thighs, and the old-fashioned manner of suspending the sword<sup>d</sup>. Brasses of like design are left at Little Bradley and Euston, both in Suffolk, and about the date 1530. By referring to the figure of John Borrell, 1531, formerly at Broxbourne, Herts. (engraved at page cxxvi.), the style of the Cambridgeshire artists may be recognised;



Hen. Bures, Esq., 1539?  
Acton, Suffolk.

the placing of the pommel of the sword under the arm, and the shape of the genouillères, are very characteristic.

The effigies in Bedfordshire, of William Cokyn, Esq., 1527, at Hatley Cockayne, and John Fysher, Esq., 1528, at Clifton, are probably by the same hand; they have plumes of feathers attached to the helmets, on which the heads repose. With very few exceptions, all the remaining military brasses were executed by London artists.

About the year 1530 the following changes in the representation of armour may be noticed: the cuirass was occasionally protected by one or more demi-placcates, and fluted, or covered with scroll-work in imitation of the rich chasing so much employed at this period; examples are at Yetminster, Dorset, 1531, and Hawstead, Suffolk,

<sup>d</sup> The same arrangement is on a brass at Ashover, Derbyshire, 1508; also at Clifton, Sussex, as late as 1587.

1557; the pauldrons sometimes nearly met across the chest, and to the top of them were screwed *pass-guards*, or stout upright pieces of steel, which more effectually resisted a pass or thrust than the raised edge of the pauldrons. The edges of these and of the other parts of the armour were often invecked; the shape of the *coutes* and *genouillières* resembles that of the defences on the elbow in the engraving from a figure c. 1540, at Sherborne St. John's, Hants.; the collar of mail was frequently attached to the helmet, and in such cases is not visible in bare-headed effigies. Perhaps the best specimen of the armour that has just been described is the brass of Roger Gyffard, Esquire, 1542, at Middle Claydon, Bucks. Other instances remain at Cobham, Kent, 1529; Yetminster, Dorset, 1531; Croydon, 1544, Lambeth, 1545, Surrey; Dry Drayton, Camb., c. 1545; Narburgh, Norfolk, 1545; All Hallows' Barking, London, 1546<sup>e</sup>.



Pauldron, &c., c. 1540,  
Sherborne St. John's,  
Hants.



Christopher Lytkot, Esq.,  
1554, Swallowfield, Berks.

The figure of Christopher Lytkot, Esquire, 1554, at Swallowfield, Berks., affords a good representation of the military equipment depicted on brasses just after the middle of the century: the breast-plate is now generally without placates, and has the *tapul*<sup>f</sup> or projecting edge formerly in fashion; the mail skirt has an indented edge, frills are worn at the wrists, and the skirt of taces is divided at the lower part by an arched opening between the tuiles. Figures of like character are to be found at West Lavington, Wilts., 1559; Northolt, Middx., 1560; Stratton, Cornwall, 1561; Great Chart, Kent, 1565; Little Plumstead, Norfolk, 1565, &c. There are a few brasses, engraved about the end of Queen Mary's reign, which resemble the armed effigy at Cob-

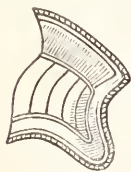
ham, Surrey, c. 1550 (see the illustration at page xlvii.); the upright edges of the pauldrons were scroll-shaped; a gorget of plate fitted close up to the chin; the pass-guards, tuiles, dagger, spurs were

<sup>e</sup> See also the engraving at p. xlix.

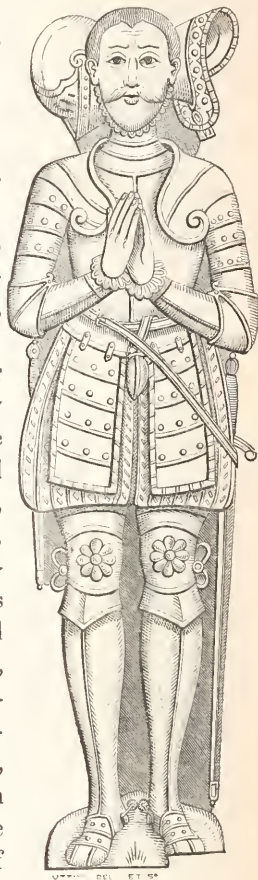
<sup>f</sup> See supra, p. xcvi.

sometimes omitted, and the mail skirt was peculiarly represented; instances of this kind remain at Isfield and Willingdon, Sussex, 1558; Margaretting, Essex, c. 1560, and Standon, Herts., 1557; the last example wears a *salade* with cheek-pieces<sup>a</sup>. The *tabard*, although of frequent occurrence in the beginning of the century, is rarely found after 1560; as at Strensham, Worcestershire, 1562; Melbury Sampford, 1562, Milton Abbas, 1565, Dorset. Helmets are seldom seen on the heads of knights; examples are at Swallowfield, Berks., 1554; Chesham Bois, Bucks., 1552; Norton Disney, Lincolnshire, c. 1580; Haccombe, Devonshire, 1586; Uppminster, Essex, 1591; Cardington, Beds., 1638.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the hair was cut short, but the beard was generally long and moustaches worn; the pauldrons were often large and fluted, as at North Mimms, Herts., c. 1560; Braiseworth, Suffolk, 1569; Churchill, Somerset, 1572; and sometimes resembled the morions, or steel caps of the time (e. g. Hawstead, Suffolk, 1557); the brassarts were composed of several pieces. The introduction of the trunk-hose, or large breeches puffed and slashed, probably caused the next material alteration in the armour; this was the discarding the skirt of mail, and the dividing the skirt of taces into two portions resembling large tiles attached by hinges to the projecting rim of the breast-plate, and usually termed *tassets*; they differed from the tiles in being composed of several overlapping plates rivetted together, their lower edges were generally rounded off, but were



Pauldron,  
Churchill,  
Somerset, 1572.

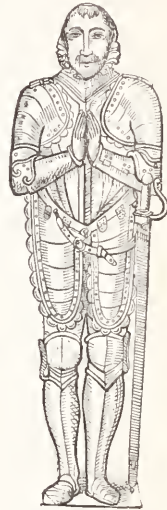


Francis Clopton, Esq., 1577, Lower  
Melford, Suffolk.

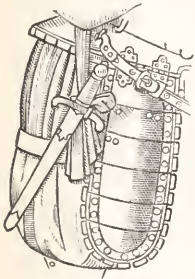
<sup>a</sup> Another brass by the same artist appears to have been lately in existence at Lower Hardres, Kent.

sometimes rectangular, especially on late brasses. This change is well exemplified by the brass of Francis Clopton, Esq., 1577, at Long Melford, Suffolk (see the engraving on the opposite page); similar figures are at Boxley, Kent, 1576; Hayes, 1576, Harrow, 1579, Middx.; Narburgh, Norfolk, 1581, &c.

About the year 1580 the armour assumes the form represented in the annexed engraving, from Margate, Kent; the pauldrons are large, and fastened to the shoulders by arming-points; their edges, and those of the tassets, are usually fringed by the scalloped border of the lining beneath; the breast-plate is longer waisted, and projects forward at the lower part, a peculiarity hardly to be noticed in brasses; the coutes are small, the tassets generally strapped round the trunk-hose, the sollerets have the toes more pointed, and the rivets and fastenings<sup>h</sup> of the different portions



— Cleybroke, Esq., c. 1600, Margate, Kent



Dagger, &c., brass of Wm. Clerke, Esq., 1611, Wrotham, Kent.

of the armour are carefully represented. The sword has the modern guard-hilt, and to that of the dagger a small scarf is frequently attached; this may be seen in figures turned sideways, as at Wrotham, Kent, 1611; Dean, Northants., 1587? Stoke Talmage, Oxon., 1588; St. Martin's, Canterbury, 1591; St. Decuman's, Somerset, 1596; Minety, Gloucestershire, c. 1600, &c. Other good examples

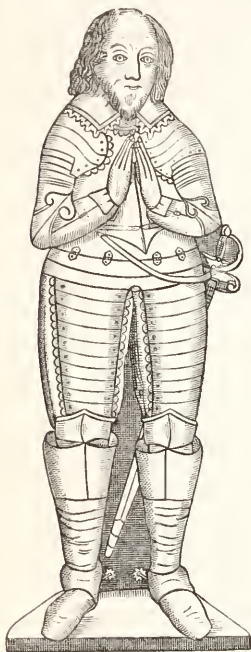
of the armour of this period are at Boughton-under-Blean, 1587, Ash-by-Sandwich, 1602, Kent; Stopham, 1614, West Fyrle, 1595, &c., Sussex; Upton, Bucks., 1599; West Hanney, Berks., 1599; Ilminster, Somerset, 1618, &c.

About the commencement of the reign of Charles the First the tassets were either obtusely pointed or else worn longer and the genouillières united to them; cuisses and jambs were disused, and the legs protected by heavy jack-boots, with tops, spurs, and spur-leathers; the hair was worn long, and plain collars and wristbands superseded the

<sup>h</sup> This is especially the case at St. John's Sepulchre, Norwich, 1597; Ash-by-Sandwich, Kent, 1602.

ruffs and frills. These changes are well exemplified by brasses at Dinton, 1628, Penn, 1641, Bucks.; St. Columb, Cornwall, 1633? East Sutton, Kent, 1638; Shepton Mallet, Somerset, 1649; Middleton, Lancashire, 1650; Haccombe, Devon, 1656; Great Chart, Kent, 1680?

This notice of the military brasses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be closed with a reference to the interesting figure of



John Arundel, Esq., 1633?  
St. Columb, Cornwall.



Geo. Hodges, c. 1630,  
Wedmore, Somerset.

George Hodges, c. 1630, at Wedmore, Somerset. The only steel armour visible in his equipment is the gorget of plate about his neck; he wears also a buff coat girded with a sash, breeches of leather buttoned at the sides, and jack boots; his sword is suspended by an ornamented belt passing over the right shoulder; in his hand he bears a small pike, having probably been an officer of pikemen.

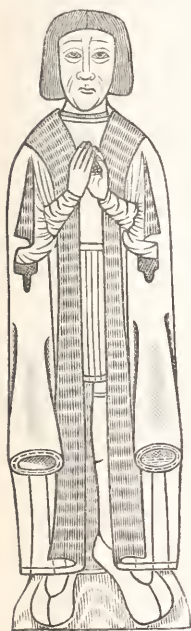
*Civilians.* The same dress which was worn at the end of the



last century appears on brasses as late as c. 1540; the gown is usually worn more open in front, and openings are sometimes inserted half-way up the sleeves, as at Mickleham, Surrey, 1514; Aldenham, Herts., c. 1520; Euston, Suffolk, c. 1520; Fordham, Camb., 1521; churches in Norwich, &c.: but the arms are seldom passed through the apertures; an instance, however, at the end of the last century may be seen at St. Mary Magdalen's, Canterbury, 1492, on the brass of Christopher Elcok, Draper<sup>1</sup>.



Sleeve, &c., from a brass at St. Mary Magdalen's, Canterbury.



Thos. Potter, 1531, Westerham, Kent.

About the year 1525 the gown was generally worn rather shorter, and had long sleeves reaching nearly to the ground, with slits at the upper part of their sides for the passage of the fore-arms. As the gown was now no longer girded, but thrown open in front, it shews its lining of fur, and also the doublet; which was a kind of frock coat with tight sleeves and a short skirt, and usually secured round the waist by a girdle or sash, to which a gypcière only was occasionally attached, the rosary being now discarded. The legs were clothed in hose, and on the feet low shoes were worn. This dress, with slight variations, continued in use until nearly the close of the seventeenth century: early instances of its appearance on brasses are at Slapton, Bucks., 1519; St. Mary Quay, Ipswich, 1525; Westerham, Kent, 1531.

Beards and moustaches came again into fashion about the year 1570; the sleeves of the gown were slashed, the doublet buttoned up the body and close under the chin, and small frills worn round the neck and wrists; the effigy of Thomas Noke, Esq., 1567, at Shottesbrooke, Berks. (see the engraving on the next page), is a good specimen of the costume during the earlier half of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

<sup>1</sup> In manuscripts written at the end of the fifteenth century, as in the illustrations to Froissart c. 1460—1480, see *supra*, p. cxvii. note a, similar sleeves

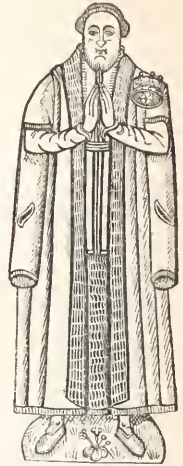
are frequently delineated. The gown had sometimes a fur cape to it, which is very rarely seen on brasses, as at Berkeley, Gloucestershire, 1526.

After 1580 the doublet is longer waisted, the gown is often



Thos. Barwick, 1599, Fornham  
All Saints, Suffolk.

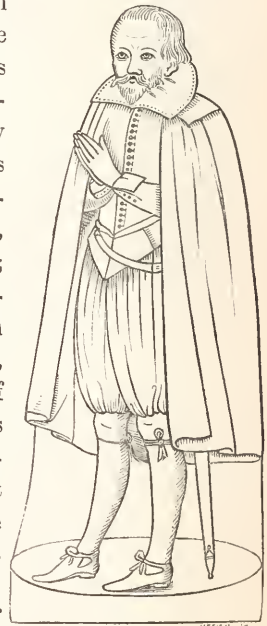
destitute of the lining or facing of fur, the sleeves are frequently striped, and hang down as mere strips from behind the shoulders; in very late examples they were ornamented with braid at their upper part. Some few brasses of civilians exhibit the slashed doublet,



Thos. Noke, Esq., 1507,  
Shottesbrooke, Berks.

trunk-hose, and ornamented breeches, as at Harlow, 1582, West Thurrock, 1585, Essex; Clifton, Notts., 1587; Queen's College, Cambridge, 1591. Soon after the commencement of the seventeenth century knee-breeches were generally worn, which were buttoned at the sides or tied at the knees; the doublet had a

very short skirt, or rather lappet; plain falling collars and wristbands took the place of frills at the neck and wrists. With this costume short cloaks were often worn instead of the civilian's gown, especially by young gentlemen; jack-boots and rapiers frequently completed their equipment; examples of which occur at Croydon, Surrey, c. 1630; Daylesford, Worcestershire, 1632; East Bergholt, Suffolk, 1639; Biddenden, Kent, 1641. The figure of Benjamin Greenwood, Esq., 1775, at St. Mary Cray, Kent, is probably the latest illustration of male attire which brasses afford. He is represented in a wig, an embroidered waistcoat, knee-breeches, and a straight coat with large sleeves, having buttons on the cuffs. Many brasses of mayors and aldermen of the sixteenth century remain, especially at Norwich; the dress consisted of a red gown, a black or brown mantle, and



Civilian, c. 1630, Croydon, Surrey.

a short black scarf, which last appears in some instances to have been worn by mayors only<sup>k</sup>.

*Ladies.* The kennel-shaped bonnets, and occasionally the veil head-dresses, were still worn; the gowns fitted tight to the body and arms, and were lined or faced with fur, which appears at the neck, the cuffs, the bottom of the skirt, and in some instances at the edges of the closed openings up the front of the dresses. This last circumstance is especially seen in the Norfolk brasses, as in the figures of Anne Asteley, 1512, at Blickling<sup>1</sup>, and Margaret Pettwode, 1514, at St. Clement's, Norwich, in which the fur is often represented by

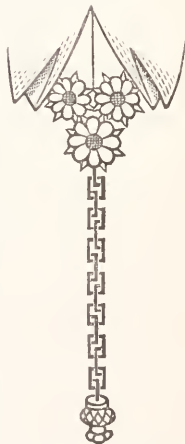


Joan Wyddowsoun, 1513, Blicklingham, Surrey.



Girdle, c. 1590,  
Cirencester,  
Gloucestershire.

deeply incised lines filled with a white metal or other composition. The girdles are generally broader than in the last century; their ends and buckles were composed of ornamented metal work, and the tongue of the latter, as shewn in the accompanying engraving from a brass at Cirencester, passes behind the ornamented front of the girdle, probably through loops made in the back to receive it. Very often the girdle was short, and instead of being buckled, it terminated in two or three rosettes from which a chain generally depended bearing an ornamented pendant, or



Rosettes and chain, 1516,  
Chesham Bois, Bucks.

<sup>k</sup> Brasses of civilians and ladies are so numerous during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that it is unnecessary to mention particular instances.

<sup>1</sup> See the engraving at p. cxxi. This

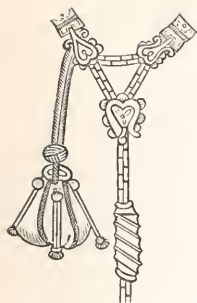
brass shews the fashion of lacing up the front of the dress; other instances are at Hinxworth, Herts., 1487; Middle Claydon, Bucks., 1523.

a pomander of open metal-work for containing scent or preservatives against infection, or for a metal ball for heating the hands<sup>m</sup>. The brasses of Norfolk and Suffolk have sometimes peculiar-shaped pouches, or reticules, attached to the girdle; as at Brampton, Norfolk, 1535; Assington, c. 1500 (see the engraving on the opposite page),

<sup>m</sup> See also the engravings from the brasses at Waterperry, Oxon., 1527, and Mickleham, Surrey, 1513, pp. xlix., cexli. The following notices of pomanthers, exhibited at meetings of Archaeological Institute, are taken from the Arch. Journ., vols. vii. p. 198, xi. pp. 79, 80, and xiv. p. 179. Exhibited by Mr. Rhode Hawkins, May 3, 1850: "A beautiful pomander, or perfume-box, of silver gilt, elaborately engraved with ornament of great elegance. It has a ring affixed to the top, probably for suspension to the girdle; and on unscrewing that part, the globe falls open, being formed in six segments, around a central tube, like the core of a fruit, each of them being a separate receptacle for perfume, and closed by a sliding lid." Feb. 3, 1845: "Mr. Franks produced also a 'pomander,' or globular frame-work of massive gold, chased and wrought with considerable taste; it was intended, probably, to hold an aromatic pastile or preservative against poison and infection. The diameter is nearly two inches; at one end there is a small ring, the attachment at the other end is lost. The weight is about two and a half ounces. An earthy matter was found within, which proved on exposure to heat to be highly aromatic. This ornament, of the close of the fifteenth or early part of the sixteenth century, had been lately found on the Surrey side of the Thames by a bargeman who was endeavouring to fix his anchor in the bank of the river." Exhibited by Mr. Hunter, V.P.S.A., March 6, 1857: "A ball of thin brass-plate, perforated over the whole surface with stars, and formed of two hemispherical cups, nicely adjusted together, so as to serve as a box, or *pomellum*, in which a scented ball might be enclosed. There is a small perforation in the centre of each moiety, through which a wire or cord might have been passed, in order to unite them together, or for convenience of suspension. Diameter 2½ inches. It has been conjectured that this ball may have been of

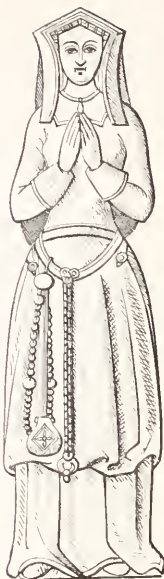
Eastern origin; objects of this description, however, were used in the middle ages, either to enclose a pomander ball, or some appliance, possibly a solid heated globe of metal, for warming the hands, and they were known as *pommes chaufférettes*. In an inventory of the fifteenth century mention occurs of a 'pomme d'argent, pour eshauffer mains, taillée à plusieurs rosettes, où il y a plusieurs pertuis;' and in another, date 1502, 'pomum foratum in plerisque locis, habens receptaculum etiam argentum in quo poni solet ferrum candens, ad calefaciendas manus sacerdotis celebrantis tempore hyemali.' See M. De Laborde's valuable Glossary, appended to his Catalogue of Enamels, &c., in the Louvre."

From the inventory of "John Port, layt the king's servant," who died 1524-5, printed in the Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Ancient Times in England, &c., London, John Nichols, 1797, the following particulars relating to female costume may be cited: "The wyffe's raiment . . . Jewells for her body Item a girdell of silver lyned with black velvet with 32 rosses, and another lyned with cremysyne velvet, both weighing 19 oz at 3s. 4d.—£3., 3.4. . . . Item; a gerdell of corne work, with a bokell and a pendent, the crosse damaske golde, weighing 7 oz. at 3s. 4d.—£1., 3.4. Item, a *demyzent* with a chyne, and a pomander and a pendent, a freangell of silver and gelt 7 oz. at 3s. 4d.—£1., 3.4."—p. 128. "Her bonnetts . . . Item a bonnet of black velvet garnished with damask gold £1., 6.8. Item 4 old frontletts of dyvers colors of velvet 4s. Item 4 partelets of velvet of tawne & blak, 2 unfurred and 2 furred with conny 4s."—p. 125. Halliwell, in his Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, 3rd ed., explains *demyzent* as the metal part of a girdle worn in front. Ann Lady Scrope bequeathed her daughter-in-law one of her "dymysens, or little girdles." Test. Vetust., p. 435.



Pouch and girdle, c. 1500,  
Assington, Suffolk.

Little Waldingfield, 1526, Suffolk; Frenze, Norfolk, 1551 (see the engravings on pages lv. and exxiii.) Rosaries are more frequently depicted on the brasses by provincial artists. The gowns, especially in figures by the various local artists<sup>n</sup>, were often so long as to require to be pinned up or tucked up at the side under the arms, and sometimes the front of



Agnes Appleton, 1526,  
Little Waldingfield,  
Suffolk

the skirt was turned up, and kept from touching the ground by being fastened in two places by a band passing round the hips, or by a sash; this curious arrangement is chiefly observable in brasses by Suffolk artists, as at Belstead, Denston, Euston, Great Thurlow, Lakenheath, Little Waldingfield, all in Suffolk, c. 1530—40; at Fordham, Cambridgeshire, 1521; Hockwold, Necton, 1532, Norfolk. Instances by London artists are at Aldenham, Herts., c. 1535; Walthamstow, Essex, 1543; Lydd, Kent, 1557 (see the engraving on the next page). Jewelled crosses were suspended by chains round the necks of ladies of distinction, who still wore the sideless dress; late examples occur at Cobham, Kent, 1529; Faringdon, Berks, 1547. Heraldic mantles are found as late as 1560.

About 1525 the gown was worn lower at the neck, and had rather shorter sleeves with loose and very wide fur cuffs, the underdress was therefore partially seen. At the neck the finely plaited *partlet* is visible, this was a kind of habit-shirt made of fine materials, with ornamented edging; on the fore arms appear richly embroidered sleeves, striped longitudinally, and slashed underneath<sup>o</sup>; the wrists are encircled with frills, and from the centre of the girdle

<sup>n</sup> The same artists frequently represent the ladies in large pulled or slashed sleeves, sometimes banded at intervals, as at Shottisham, 1528, Hockwold, 1532, Brampton, 1535, Norfolk; Kinver, Salop, 1528; Herne, Kent, 1539; Aston, 1545, Solihull, 1549, Shuckburgh Superior,

1566, Warwickshire, &c.

<sup>o</sup> It is perhaps uncertain whether these sleeves were attached to the partlet, or to an under garment termed a waistcoat: the partlet was also the name of part of the male dress, see *supra*, p. ccxxxiii. note b.



A lady, c. 1535, West Malling, Kent.

Instead of the pedimental head-dress, small circular caps were worn; the hair was sometimes looped up at the sides of the face, and capes were thrown over the shoulders. This costume is especially observable on brasses by Cambridge-shire artists about the year 1535, as at Little Barford, Beds.; Wimpole, Cambridgeshire; Hitchin, Herts.; Lakenheath, Suffolk, &c.:



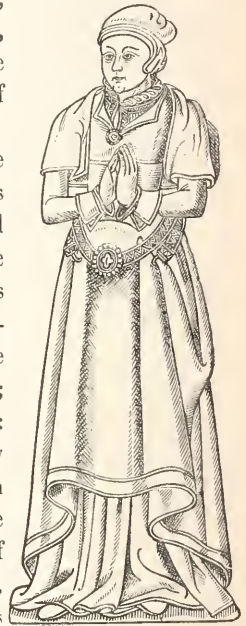
Ornament of sash. Hitchin, Herts., c. 1535.

in these the gown is generally secured by a sash, either tied in front, or passed through three rings conjoined. The effigy of Malyn Harte, 1557, at Lydd, Kent, is a good example of this attire as depicted by a London

artist.

The figure of Anne Lovell, 1545, at Harlington, Middx. (see the engraving on the opposite page), exhibits the style of dress which

a long rosary of several decades of beads frequently depends<sup>p</sup>; a small cape is also occasionally worn over the shoulders. The hair appears to have been confined in a roll or caul crossed over the forehead; a very narrow frill was worn round the face, and the front lappets of the head-dress turned up at the sides, especially in late instances. The brasses of ladies at West Malling, Kent, c. 1535; Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, 1525; Waterpery, Oxon., 1527; Hackney, Middx., 1545<sup>q</sup>, are good illustrations of this attire.



Malyn Harte, 1557, Lydd, Kent.

<sup>p</sup> In one instance, St. John's Madder-market, Norwich, 1525, a crucifix is attached to the rosary; it is omitted in Cotman's etching.

<sup>q</sup> See the engravings supra, pp. xlix.,

ccxxxi. This costume is found on a brass as late as 1553, at Charlwood, Surrey. It is that in which the queens of Henry the Eighth are usually painted in their portraits.

first appears on brasses of this date. The hair was parted on the forehead, and the pedimental head-dress superseded by the "Paris head," or French hood (?), a kind of close linen cap projecting forward at each side of the face, often with a jewelled fillet over the forehead, and a lappet dependent behind<sup>r</sup>; the collar of the gown was thrown open at the neck and embroidered, and the sleeves puffed on the shoulders; brasses by the same artist as the figure at Harlington may be seen at Croydon, Surrey, 1544; Albury, Herts., 1546; All Hallows' Barking, St. Mary's, Islington, both in London, and of the date 1546.



Anne Lovell, 1645,  
Harlington, Middx.

The costume worn from the time of King Edward the Sixth until the earlier part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth is well illustrated by the effigy of Katherine Lytkott, at Swallowfield, Berks. The centre of the 'Paris head' is depressed; the gown has an opening up the front, which is generally tied with bows in the upper part, its collar is sometimes of fur, its sleeves are puffed and slashed on the shoulders, and either there terminate, or else depend in false sleeves like those of civilians; the under-dress has close sleeves, frequently ornamented by a stripe wound round them; from its sash a book, mirror, jewelled tablet, or other article is suspended by a cord.



Kath. Lytkott, 1561,  
Swallowfield, Berks.

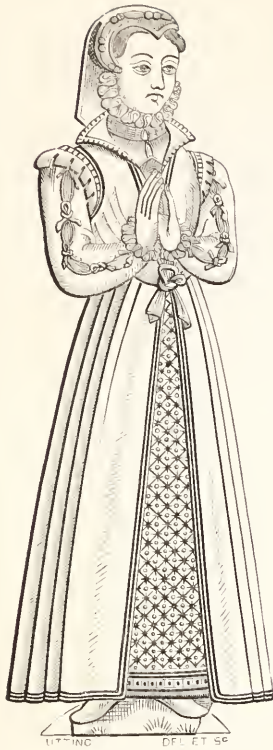


Sleeve, Churchill,  
Somerset, 1572.

About and after the year 1570 the attire of ladies resembled that in the engravings on the next page, from brasses at Cumnor, Berks., 1577, and Staplehurst, Kent, c. 1580. Starched ruffs

were worn round the neck and wrists; the partlet fitted close up to the chin; the over-gown had sometimes short puffed sleeves projecting above the shoulders, as at Churchill, Somerset, 1572, but it more usually was sleeveless; a sash confined it

<sup>r</sup> See also the engraving supra, p. ccxxxi.



A lady, c. 1580 Staplehurst, Kent.



Head, Judith Seybald, 1602, Biddenden, Kent.

at the waist, below which it was thrown open so as to display a stiff petticoat richly embroidered with a diapered pattern; the sleeves of the under-dress were usually striped, but sometimes slashed and tied with bows. Good examples of this attire are at Sotterley, Suffolk, 1578; Littlebury and Stisted, 1584, Essex; Ruisclip, Middx., 1593, &c.

The next change in dress is observable about the date 1590; the hair was brushed back from the temples, and the French hood had the lappet at the back thrown forward over the top of the head<sup>s</sup>; above this coiffure broad-brimmed hats, wreathed round the crown, were occasionally worn, espe-



Eath. Staverton, 1577, Cumnor, Berks.



Aphra Hawkins, 1605, Fordwich, Kent.

<sup>s</sup> These flaps were perhaps termed shadoes or *bonne-graces*. See the note in the *Arch. Journ.*, vol. viii, p. 182, to the accounts of the Fermor family, 1580, quoted *supra*, pp. xxxi., xxxii., note x. "Cale and shadoe, a cawl and bongrace, or projecting hat. The former was occasionally set up with pearls or bugles.

'*Bonne-grace*, th' uppermost flap of the down-hanging taile of a French hood, whence belike our Boon-grace.'—*Cotgrave*. '*Felaregli*, bonegraces, shadowes, vailles, or launes, that women use to weare on their foreheads for the sunne.'—*Florio*."



cially, it is said, by the Puritan party, and by persons living in the country; the ruff round the neck was larger, and the skirt of the petticoat generally adorned with an arabesque pattern or scroll-work; the outer gown had sometimes strips dependent from behind the shoulders; the brasses of Aphra Hawkins, 1605, Fordwich (see the engraving on the preceding page), and Elizabeth Vezelini, 1607, Downe, Kent; are good specimens of this costume. Sometimes a large calash, or hood, was worn over the head and shoulders, and fell down behind the back nearly to the ground: this peculiar dress is well exemplified by brasses at Wrotham, Kent, 1615; Henfield, Sussex, 1627; Finchamstead, Berks., 1635.



Elizabeth Crispe, 1615,  
Wrotham, Kent.

The effigy of Mary Leventhorp, c. 1600, at Sawbridgeworth, Herts., exhibits the costume usually seen in the portraits of Queen Elizabeth and ladies of rank at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries; very large ruffs, starched and supported on wires, surrounded the neck; a long-bodied stomacher, peaked at the waist, and, together with its skirt, richly embroidered, was now worn; the upper gown had a flounce at the waist, and was there secured by a sash or narrow jewelled girdle; its sleeves were close, with plain cuffs; the skirts of the dresses projected abruptly from the hips, and were kept extended by enormous *farthingales* of whalebone;



Mary Leventhorp, 1600, Sawbridgeworth,  
Herts.

the neck and arms were adorned with necklaces and bracelets, and a pendent jewel was fastened on the forehead. Good examples of this costume are also at Easton, Suffolk, 1601; Bradford, Wilts., 1601.

At Ardingley, Sussex, is a brass to one of the Culpeper family, 1633 (see the engraving on the next page), which is a good specimen of female attire in the reign of Charles the First; the hair was worn in flowing curls; a kerchief was thrown over the head, and fell

down low behind the figure; collars of rich lace surrounded the neck; full, striped sleeves covered the arms; the under-gown was shorter waisted, and the over-dress often resembled a sleeveless mantle, or cloak, formed of two separated pieces united on the shoulders, as at Henfield, Sussex, 1627; the shoes had high heels; hats were still occasionally represented, as on the figure of Jane Cradock, 1626, at Ightham, Kent, evidently engraved by the same artist as the brass at Ardingley, very similar to which are effigies at Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk, 1632, and Bampton, Oxon., 1633. Anne Bedingfeild, 1641, at Darsham, Suffolk, and Jane Septvans, 1642, at Ash near Sandwich, Kent, wear double neckerchiefs resembling small capes, and hold handkerchiefs<sup>†</sup>; the former is dressed in a very inelegant



Elizth. Culpeper, 1633, Ardingley, Sussex.

costume, consisting of a long straight coat having close sleeves with buttons on the cuffs. Three kneeling figures of ladies of the Toke family, at Great Chart, Kent, about the close of Charles the Second's reign, wear their hair long and braided across the forehead; they have tight bodices, gowns laced up in front, low at the neck, with short sleeves; and hold books and flowers, laurel and palm-branches in their hands. Still later, the brass of Philadelphia Greenwood, 1747, at St. Mary Cray, Kent, exhibits the costume worn in George the Second's reign; namely, a gown with tight sleeves and embroidered skirt, a plaited neckerchief, and a veil thrown over the head and falling behind to the ground.

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These, then, are the chief facts and considerations which it appeared desirable to bring together, as an introduction to the profitable study of monumental brasses, the discrimination of

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<sup>†</sup> Fans formed of feathers were often carried by ladies, as at Henfield, Sussex, 1633; Penn, Bucks., 1641, &c.

their dates and various styles, and the due appreciation of their beauties.

Respecting the method of copying brasses and incised slabs, but little need here be said, as the subject has been fully explained in the article on brasses, by Albert Way, Esq., in the *Archaeological Journal*<sup>u</sup>. It is well known that the composition similar to lithographic ink, termed heel or pouch ball<sup>x</sup>, and manufactured by Messrs. Ullathorne, of Gate-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, has been the usual material employed for rubbing on white paper, and experience has shewn that, for durability, cleanliness, and distinctness of the transcript, it is unsurpassed. It is therefore well suited to large collections, which it is recommended should be made on the narrow paper (23 inches wide, and manufactured for papering rooms), as being more portable; paper, however, as wide as four feet and a-half may be procured from the principal stationers in London, and is very convenient for copying large brasses. Before taking the copy, the surface of the brasses should be wiped perfectly clean, the paper stretched tightly over the slab, and kept from shifting by weights, as hassocks, being placed upon it. When the brasses are against the wall, it is advisable to cut the paper to the required size, and fasten it by wafers placed above the memorial. It will be found by far the best plan, if time permit, to rub the brasses without going over the edge, which may be first marked out by rubbing with the finger, as the trouble of cutting out and mounting will thus be avoided. In cutting out a rubbing for mounting, a narrow white line should be left round the edge of the figure, &c. The copies may be afterwards retouched; but this can hardly be done without destroying the sharpness of the original lines, and obscuring the smaller ones<sup>y</sup>. The shields and the dresses may be coloured by

<sup>u</sup> Vol. i. pp. 204—207.

<sup>x</sup> This material is prepared of different degrees of hardness: the hard quality is preferable for use in hot weather, and for rubbing finely engraved details and worn brasses. The pouch-ball, or the large cakes manufactured expressly for copying brasses, will be found more suitable for rubbing than the heel-ball.

<sup>y</sup> Rubbings taken with heel-ball are susceptible of a high polish if rubbed with a silk handkerchief, a hat brush, or other soft substance. They can also

be transferred to stone or zinc, and numerous copies thereby printed from them. Rubbings may be also reduced for the purposes of engraving by photography. The anastatic, or zincographic printing will be found very useful for multiplying drawings of brasses made with lithographic ink. A means of taking rubbings from a substitute for the original brass has been employed by Chas. Spence, Esq., of the Admiralty. A heel-ball rubbing is pasted on a well-seasoned deal board, that has been

being first lightly rubbed with lead pencil, and painted afterwards. A more expeditious manner of taking a copy is by mixing powdered black lead with linseed or sweet oil, and rubbing the composition lightly on thick tissue paper by means of a stuffed dabber of wash leather or linen; a sharper outline is obtained, but the copy is liable to become indistinct, unless it be very carefully preserved. This method was adopted by Mr. Fisher, who, at the beginning of this century, etched and lithographed many brasses in Bedfordshire and elsewhere. To those, however, who are desirous of obtaining an almost exact facsimile of the colour of the brass plates and incised lines, the metallic composition invented by Mr. H. S. Richardson, of Greenwich, for rubbing on black paper, will be found to answer entirely their purpose. The old plan of obtaining impressions, first employed about 1780, by Craven Ord, Esq., Sir John Cullum, and the Rev. Thomas Cole, was by means of damped paper and printers' ink, by which the copy, though quickly obtained, was necessarily reversed, and therefore extremely inconvenient for de-ye-phering inscriptions<sup>2</sup>. Before the use of heel-ball was introduced, rubbings were generally taken on stiff paper with large black-lead pencils. A collection thus formed, from the brasses of Suffolk, has

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thoroughly pumiced and painted half-a-dozen times a drab or bronze colour; the white incised lines are then cut out with a sharp penknife, the colours filled in, and the rubbing removed by the application of soap and water and pumice-stone. Rubbings may then be taken from the 'cutting' in the ordinary way. This plan will be found very useful for reproducing interesting details, or lost portions of brasses of which rubbings exist.

<sup>2</sup> The mode in which these were taken is described in the following extract from a letter from Mr. J. C. Brooke, dated *Heralds' College*, March 29, 1780, to Mr. Gough, printed in *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, intended as a sequel to the *Literary Anecdotes*, by John Nichols, F.S.A., vol. vi. p. 393: "I spent Saturday morning with Mr. Ord to look over his impressions from brasses, which are curiously done; and he has a large collection. The manner in which he does them is this: He has French paper

damped, and kept in a tin case made on purpose to keep it so, printer's ink in a bottle, and a quantity of rags; he inks the brass, and then wipes it very clean, lays on the paper, covers it with a cloth, and treads upon it, and takes the impression; and he has a man at home to finish them up with printers' ink where the lines have failed; he then cuts out the figure, and pastes them into a large portfolio, with blue paper leaves, large enough to contain a figure six feet high; and you cannot imagine how beautiful they appear. He has lately been a tour into Oxfordshire, and has taken the Chaucers, of which I gave you a slight sketch; and several priests at Ewelme, Lord Grey of Rotherfield at Greys, others at Dorchester, Henley, Marlow, Hambleton, &c. I think he talks of having some duplicates for you and Sir John Cullum." The portfolio alluded to was purchased by Mr. Douce, and bequeathed by him to the British Museum; it is now kept in the Print Room.

been recently bequeathed to the British Museum, by the late D. E. Davy, Esq., of Ufford.

The large number of slabs despoiled of their brass plates which still pave the floors of many of our churches and minsters, and the mutilated condition of the great majority of the brasses that have escaped destruction, can hardly fail to attract the attention of even the mere casual observer<sup>a</sup>. A reverence for the monuments of the dead<sup>b</sup>, and a certain respect for remains of antiquity, seem to be feelings so inseparable from our nature, that it is almost inconceivable by what means the sepulchral brasses of this country should ever have been brought to their present condition. There are two periods in our history when they especially suffered—the Reformation and the Great Rebellion.

In the year 1536 the smaller religious houses were dissolved, and their property granted to the crown; three years later the larger monastic establishments shared the same fate. As plunder was the main object in view at their destruction, everything that could be converted into money was indiscriminately sold; even the materials of the churches and chapels, including the gravestones and brasses, were not spared. “Browne Willis,” writes Mr. Gough, “shewed the Society of Antiquaries, in 1737, from the Augmentation Office, a particular of the dissolution of religious houses, 30 Henry VIII., which, because it shews how monasteries and brasses were then disposed of, I shall subjoin from their minutes. County of Warwick:—Mirival, 6 gravestones with brasses on them, 5s. . . . Delacres, the paving of the church, with isles, *gravestones*, roof, &c., sold for £13,, 6,, 8; Darley, the *tombs* and *gravestones*, with the metal on them, and roof of the church, isles, &c., sold for £20<sup>c</sup>.” “The monumental slabs with the brasses on them, in the chancel of Attleborough Church, Norfolk, were taken by Robert Earl of Sussex, to whom Hen. VIII. granted it, at the dissolution of the college there,

<sup>a</sup> A brass composed of several distinct portions is very rarely to be found perfect; instances of which may be seen at Quinton, c. 1440, and Northleach, 1501, Gloucestershire.

<sup>b</sup> “Amongst the Romans, the defacing them was punished by severe pecuniary mulcts, cutting off hands, banishment,

and sometimes by death; and Solon made a special law for this purpose. Alex. ab Alex. vi. 14; Cicero de Leg. ii. 26.” Staveley on Churches, p. 269. See also Weever’s Fun. Monuments, pp. 42—49.

<sup>c</sup> Gough’s Sep. Mon., vol. i. part i. pp. cxx., cxxi.

to pave his hall, kitchen, and larder<sup>d</sup>." Many of the brasses destroyed at this time no doubt quickly found their way back to the workshops of the engravers of brasses, and were reproduced as palimpsests engraved on the reverse side. Some of the purchasers probably bought the brasses as memorials of themselves or their families, and had them adapted to the purpose by slight alterations in the costume, armorial bearings, and inscription. This will perhaps account for the existence of the curious palimpsest brasses at Okover, Staffordshire, and Bromham, Beds.<sup>e</sup> The brass at the latter place originally commemorated Thomas Widevill, Esq., of Grafton, Northants., 1435, and his two wives: as by his will he left large bequests to the convent of St. James, beside Northampton, it is probable that he was buried there, and that at the dissolution his monument was either delivered up to, or purchased by, the family of Wyld, and appropriated to Sir John Dyve, 1535, wife, and mother<sup>f</sup>.

But the destruction of the brasses was, unhappily, not confined to the monasteries; the practice soon extended to the parish churches. It is well known that at the Reformation authority was given to persons in each county to remove from all churches graven images, which had been put to superstitious uses; and that under pretence of this commission much spoliation was effected. Thus, in the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Martin's, Leicester, in the year 1547, is the following memorandum: "by the commandment of Mr. Mayor and his brethren, according to the King's Injunctions, in the year of our Lord 1546, and the first year of the reign of

<sup>d</sup> Gough's Sep. Mon., vol. i. part i. p. exxii. See also Glossary of Architecture, 1850, p. 393, *voc.* Rood-beam.

<sup>e</sup> See *supra*, pp. l., li.

<sup>f</sup> See Baker's Northants., vol. ii. p. 162, and The Topog. and Geneal., part i. p. 65. The brasses were not unfrequently shifted by the descendants or friends of the deceased from the monasteries, at their dissolution, to the parish churches. Thus the brass of Judge Billyng, and probably others, were brought to Wappenham from Bitlesden Abbey (Baker's Northants., vol. i. p. 730); that of Prior Langley, from Horsham Priory, near Norwich, to St. Lawrence's Church in that city (Cotman's Brasses, vol. ii. p. 48); that of Walter Curson, from the Augustine Friars at

Oxford to the neighbouring church of Waterpery (The Topographer for 1790, vol. ii. p. 364); and probably that of John Seymour to Great Bedwin from Easton Priory, Wilts. (Coll. Topog. et Geneal., vol. v. p. 23); at Abingdon, Berks., the body of Geoffrey Barbur, a great benefactor to the town, was translated from the Abbey in a solemn manner to St. Helen's Church. See Leland's Itinerary, vol. vii. pt. 2. fol. 64 b, ed. 1769. At Albury, near Tring, Herts., is an inscription cut in brass recording the removal of a tomb from the monastery of Ashridge. An inscription at St. Peter's, Shaftesbury, was formerly in the Abbey. Hutchins's Hist. of Dorset, vol. ii. p. 426, ed. 1796.

Edward the Sixth. . . . Four hundred and a quarter of brass was sold for 19s. per cwt. to one man; and three hundred weight and three quarters was sold to another at the same price; and one hundred to William Taylor &c." Amongst other outrages, the funeral monuments were violated, effigies destroyed, and inscriptions "for greedinesse of the brasse, or for that they were thought to bee Antichristian, pulled out from the Sepulchres, and purloined," and "dead carcasses, for gaine of their stone or leaden coffins, cast out of their graues<sup>h</sup>."

That these proceedings, however, were neither intended nor approved by the authorities, is evident from a proclamation of the second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, each printed copy of which was signed by the Queen's own hand, before they were dispersed throughout her dominions<sup>i</sup>. In this document, after reciting the injury done by "sundrie people, partly ignorant, partly malicious, or covetous," to ancient monuments of metal and stone, "by which meanes not onely the Churches remaine at this present day spoiled, broken and ruinated, to the offence of all noble and gentle hearts, and the extinguishing of the honourable and good memory of sundry vertuous and noble families deceased, but also the true understanding of divers families in this Realme is thereby so darkened as the true course of their inheritance may be hereafter interrupted<sup>k</sup>," all per-

<sup>g</sup> Nichols's Leicestershire, vol. i. pp. 570, 571. See also the Accounts of Wigtoft Church in Lincolnshire, 1550, printed in Nichols's Illustrations: "Item of *Kyrke* of boston, for xxiii stone of leten 8s. 4d." Weaver (Fun. Mon., p. 427) mentions an instance of an incumbent at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, stripping the gravestones of their brasses: "The plates with the Inscriptions of such Monuments as were of more Antiquitie, were all taken away for conetousnesse of the brasse, by one Doctor *Hanner* (as I haue it by relation of the Inhabitants) Vicar of this Church, which he conuerted into coine, and presently after (ashamed belike of such a detestable act) went ouer into Ireland, and there ignominiously ended his dayes."

<sup>h</sup> Weaver's Fun. Mon., p. 51. Persons who had witnessed the destruction of brasses, and who intended to be commemorated by this kind of monuments, sometimes endeavoured to prevent their own memorials from meeting with similar treatment. By his will, dated Feb. 13,

1630, Archbishop Harsnett gave the following directions for his funeral and monument: "My body I will to be buried within the parish church of Chigwell, without pomp or solemnity, at the foot of Thomazine late my beloved wife, having only a marble stone laid upon my grave, with a plate of brass molten into the stone an inch thick, having the effigies of a Bishop stamped upon it, with his mitre and crosier-staff, but the brass to be so rivetted and fastened clear through the stone, as sacrilegious hands may not rend off the one without breaking the other." Illustrations of Mon. Brasses by the Cambridge Camden Society, No. I. p. 30. The inscription on a brass at Horshill, Surrey, 1603, ends thus:—"Gentle reader deface not this stone."

<sup>i</sup> Fuller, Ch. Hist. ix. § 1. 36.

<sup>k</sup> In common with other ancient inscriptions, the epitaphs on brasses have been serviceable as legal evidence. The memorial at Trotton, Sussex, was appealed to in Lord Camoys's pecrage case.

sions are charged to forbear from "such barbarous disorders;" the offenders are to be punished with fine and imprisonment, and provision is made for the restoration of the injured monuments<sup>1</sup>. "Her princely care took this desired effect, that it stopped the main stream of sacrilege herein, though some by-rivulets thereof ran still in private churches, in defiance of all orders provided to the contrary<sup>m</sup>."

But the demolition of brasses at this period seems to have been trifling compared with that by the rebellious sectaries in the following century. From the records of destruction in a few places some notion may be formed of their wholesale ravages. "In all places," says a contemporary writer, "they left some infamous memorial of their frenzie and hatred of the beauty and magnificence of God's Houses; and therefore in every place made it their first business to rob and deface churches, and violate the Sepulchres and Monuments of the dead, so they have expressed their greatest hatred against the Mother Churches<sup>n</sup>." The enormities committed in most of our cathedrals are well known; they are detailed with painful minuteness by the same writer<sup>o</sup>. The proof of their ravages was still so evident in Browne Willis's time that in 1718<sup>p</sup> he counted about

A curious circumstance is related in Horsfield's *Sussex* (vol. i. p. 567) concerning an inscription formerly at Brightling to John Bates, Gent., 1476, who gave for ever to the church some lands in the parish called Levettys. The lands were alienated from the church, but restored in 1635. "Tradition tells (says Mr. Hayley) that the brass plate with the inscription on which is inscribed the gift of land called Levettys on the grave stone of John Batys was accidentally found in scouring out the bottom of a very deep well on the South Downs, and being restored to the parish led to the discovery of the embezzlement and recovery of the lands to their proper and designed use." The author has been informed that the genealogical brass of the Beale family, at All Saints', Maidstone, has been of service to one of their descendants in establishing some claim.

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, *Conc.* iv. p. 221.

<sup>m</sup> Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* loc. cit.

<sup>n</sup> (Ryves's) *Merc. Rusticus* (Ed. 1685) Pref.

<sup>o</sup> *Ibid.* Canterbury, p. 119; Rochester, p. 136; Chichester, p. 141; Winchester, p. 147; Westm. Abbey, p. 155;

Exeter, p. 159; Peterborough, p. 213 seq.: "Not one monument escaped undefaced." "They sold the brass which they flaid from the graven stones." See also *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, p. 197 (by Dr. Barwick and others), for the havoc at Cambridge, and *Dugdale's Troubles* (fol. 1681), p. 557 seq. for that at Worcester, Lichfield, and Lincoln. At Norwich "what tearing up of monuments! what wresting out of iron and brass from the windows and graves!" Bp. Hall, *Hard Measure, Works* (Oxf. 1837), I. lv.

<sup>p</sup> *Survey of Lincoln*, p. 31. It is remarkable that some of the churches in France suffered in like manner from the professors of the Genevan heresy. "Les Calvinistes, maîtres un moment de la Normandie, dans le xvi. siècle, commirent plus de ravages dans la Cathédrale de Rouen que les niveleurs de 1793." "Après avoir brisé les statues des tombeaux et les tombeaux eux-mêmes, ils levèrent toutes les tombes de cuivre et autres monuments qui étoient dans l'église pour y trouver des trésors." *Deville, Tomb. de la Cathédrale de Ronen*, 8vo. 1833, p. v.



207 slabs in Lincoln Cathedral from which brasses had been torn<sup>q</sup>; and Rawlinson found as many as 170 at Hereford Cathedral in a similar condition, although he thinks that this Church "met with better quarter from the Scottish Covenanters than most of our Cathedrals<sup>r</sup>." Even now the floors of the Cathedrals just mentioned, and those of Ely Cathedral, St. Alban's<sup>s</sup> and Westminster Abbeys, and the Chapter-house, Canterbury (whither the slabs from various parts of the Cathedral have been transferred), not to mention other instances, contain the empty matrices of many splendid brasses.

These were the deliberate acts of the soldiers under the command of their leaders, who in many cases stood by and encouraged them<sup>t</sup>. They were also approved and rivalled by those in power: in 1643 "the stately Screen of copper, richly gilt, set up by King Henry VII. in his Chappel at Westminster, was by order of the House reformed, that is broken down and sold to tinkers;" and in 1652 "it was referred to a committee to consider what Cathedrals were fit to stand or what to be pulled down, and how such as shall be pulled down may be applied to the payment of the Public Faith<sup>u</sup>."

But it was not the cathedrals only that suffered: commissioners were appointed in every county to "reform" the parish churches, and William Dowsing, under a warrant from the Earl of Manchester,

<sup>q</sup> The learned and pious Bishop Sanderson, while Rector of Boothby Pagnel, Lincolnshire, took copies of the inscriptions in the Cathedral in 1641, probably in conjunction with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Wm. Dugdale and Mr. Sedgwick, a skilful arms-painter, who were sent by Sir Christopher Hatton, in anticipation of the approaching storm of sacrilegious destruction, to copy the monuments in several cathedrals and churches. The drawings of the monuments and brasses at Lincoln, made by Dugdale, were lately discovered by the Ven. Archdeacon Bonney among some family documents belonging to the present Earl of Winchelsea. Beautiful and accurate copies of these drawings have been taken by Dr. Bonney, and presented by him to the cathedral library. See "Lincoln Cathedral," p. 11, quoted *supra*, p. ex. note e.

<sup>r</sup> Hist. and Antiq. of the City and Cathedral of Hereford, 8vo. 1717, pp. 137, 138, and Preface. "The brass plates on her Grave-Stones as usual,

turn'd into Cannon against their Prince." See also p. vii.

<sup>s</sup> A friend has assured the author that he lately counted 270 brassless slabs in St. Alban's Abbey.

<sup>t</sup> Sandys and Sir M. Livesey at Canterbury; Cromwell at Peterborough; Purefey at Warwick ordered his soldiers to beat down and deface the monuments in St. Mary's Church, "standing by all the while and encouraging them." *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 69. Sir W. Waller, at Chichester, "and the rest of the commanders standing by as spectators and approvers," &c., p. 141.

<sup>u</sup> *Merc. Belg.* Whitlock's Mem., p. 514, "March 3, 1647, I find a Committee ordered by the Commons, to examine the state of Ely Cathedral and bring in an Ordinance for selling the materials," &c. "October 26, an order passed for the lead of the Cathedral of Worcester to be taken off and sold." *Ibid.*, pp. 277, 292. Walker, *Suff.*, pt. i. p. 15.

who performed this office for Suffolk in the years 1643, 1644, boasts in his Journal of having destroyed 192 brasses in 52 churches of that county only; 30 of these were in one church (Allhallows, Sudbury); and at Wetherden "there was taken up 19 superstitious inscriptions that weighed 65 pounds." The following extract from the journal of this parliamentary visitor will shew the usual mode of proceeding: "110. Walberwick. Brake down 40 superstitious Pictures; and to take off 5 Crosses on the Steeple and Porch; and we had 8 superstitious Inscriptions on the grave stones<sup>x</sup>." In the Churchwardens' Accounts of Walberswick are the following entries relating to the same transactions: "1644. April 8th, paid to Master Dowson that came with the troopers to our church, about the taking down of images, and brasses off stones, £0,, 6,, 0. . . . 1644. Paid that day to others for taking up the brasses of gravestones befor the officer Dowson came £0,, 1,, 0. . . . Rec. this 6th of January 1644 from out of the church, 40 pounds weyght of brasse, at three-pence halfpenny per pound £0,, 11,, 8<sup>v</sup>. A similar entry occurs in the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster: "1644. Item. for 29 pound of fine brasse at 4d. a pound, and 96 pound of coarse brasse at 3d. a pound taken off from sundrie tombe-stones in the church. £1,, 13,, 6<sup>z</sup>." It is in retired village churches, or in places where influential families resident in the neighbourhood opposed the destruction of the monuments of their ancestors, that the monumental brasses chiefly escaped. While scarcely half-a-dozen brasses of canons remain in our minsters, many are still to be found over their graves at their country livings<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> Dowsing's Journal, printed at the end of Wells's Rich Man's Duty, Oxford, p. 28. The capabilities of Dowsing for reading ancient inscriptions and deciding which were superstitious or which the reverse, may be inferred from the account he gives in his Journal of a brass at Cambridge: "At Benet Temple, Dec. 28. . . There was seven superstitious engravings; one was to pray for the soul of John Canterbury and his wife. And an Inscription of a Mayd praying to the Sonn and Virgin Mary, 'twas in Lating, Me tibi—Virgo Pia Gentier [*sic*, i. e. Genetrix] commendo Maria, a Mayd was born from me which I commend to the oh Mary (1432) Richard Billingsford did commend this his

Daughter's soule." "From which particulars it is easy to gather that this must mean Dr. Billingsford, who by his interpretation is metamorphosed into a maid, who, however, was commending her daughter's soul to the Virgin Mary." Master's Hist. of Corpus Christi College, Camb., 4to., 1753, pp. 38, 39. An engraving of the figure of this brass is given *supra*, p. lxxxii. A curious matrix, as if of figures of angels, still remains on the slab.

<sup>y</sup> Illustrations of Manners and Expences, &c., Nichols, 1797, p. 190.

<sup>z</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>a</sup> Brasses have occasionally been found buried in churches, as at St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, 1529; Royston,

It is not, however, the fanatic and the rebel only upon whom we must charge the dilapidated state of our monumental brasses. Their combined injuries, wholesale and deplorable as they were, have probably since been almost equalled by those arising from the dishonesty, carelessness, and apathy of the proper guardians of them. A want of due vigilance at all times, and especially on occasion of any accident or repairs done to our churches, has allowed vast numbers of fine brasses to be either stolen or mutilated. Many that were perfect when Gough published his work in 1786-99, and even at the date of Cotman's plates (1819), are now sought for in vain, or, if found, are sadly spoiled. Several of the brasses formerly at Great Marlow, Bucks., St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, and Ingham, Norfolk, of which impressions were taken by Craven Ord, Esq., and Sir John Cullum, and are now preserved in the British Museum, have also been destroyed. The fine Flemish brass of Robert Attelathe, 1376, in existence in 1780, at St. Margaret's, Lynn, Norfolk, was, previously to Stothard's visit to Lynn in 1813, given out of the church by the churchwardens to a person who sold it for five shillings to a brass-founder<sup>b</sup>. In 1794 a gentleman went to copy the inscriptions on the brasses at St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, and found that they had been sold by order of the churchwardens to a neighbouring brazier<sup>c</sup>. A fine brass of the Clifton family, at Methwold, Norfolk, was sold by the clerk to a tinker, from whom only a few uninteresting fragments could be recovered<sup>d</sup>. The brass of Roger Deincourt, Esq., formerly at Upminster, Essex, shared the same fate<sup>e</sup>. Sometimes, instead of being sold for old metal, the brasses were unscrupulously made use of for various purposes connected with the church, as at Meopham, Kent. "Mr. Copland, of Meopham, says that within the memory of several old men now living at Meopham, some of the bells of the church being to be new cast, and there being wanting a sufficient quantity of metal to do it, some persons (one of whom is now living) tore off all the brass inscriptions from the stones in the church, except that of Follham before mentioned, and threw them into the melted metal, to add to its quantity for casting the bells<sup>f</sup>."

Herts., 1432; Fulham, Middx., 1529; Kingston, Surrey, 1488. Perhaps some of these may have been purposely concealed to protect them from spoliation.

<sup>b</sup> Cotman's Brasses, vol. i. p. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Gent. Mag., 1794, pt. ii. p. 1,087.

<sup>d</sup> Gough, Sep. Mon., vol. i. pt. i. p. 121.

<sup>e</sup> Arch. Journ., vol. xiii. p. 182.

<sup>f</sup> Thorpe's Registrum Roffense, 1769, p. 777.

At Luton, Beds., in the last century by a vote of the parish, which, however, met with considerable opposition, a great number of old brasses were melted down to make a chandelier for the church<sup>e</sup>.

On the occasion of any repairs or alterations in a church, the brasses have almost always been allowed to become the plunder of the workmen. Thus at Hereford "several were displaced when the cathedral underwent its extensive repairs subsequently to the fall of the west end in 1786, and no less than two tons weight was sold to a brazier<sup>h</sup>." At the repairs of the church of Sheepy Magna, Leicestershire, in 1778, "the brasses, it is said, were taken away and sold for old metal<sup>i</sup>." The brass of Agnes Skinner disappeared from Camberwell Church on a similar occasion in 1807<sup>k</sup>. The Rev. M. A. Tierney, after describing the injury done to the church at Arundel, Sussex, in 1782, by the falling of the roof of one of the chapels, adds, that "the conversion of the chapel into a temporary workshop a few years later, by enabling the workmen to purloin the brass ornaments that still remained, completed the desolation of the edifice<sup>l</sup>." At the hasty and most shameful destruction of the church of St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, about the close of the last century, "no care was taken to preserve the numerous gravestones, brasses, tombs, and other ancient memorials with which the aisles and chapels abounded. They were involved, with very few exceptions, in the common havoc, *the brasses were sold by weight*, and the gravestones dispersed and converted to common uses<sup>m</sup>."

Nor has the spoliation of sepulchral brasses been confined to a period when little or no attention was paid to such memorials. Even since the increased interest taken during the present century in English antiquities and architecture, and the prevalence of church restoration, the brasses have frequently been most disgracefully treated. In fact, it may be safely stated that whenever a church

<sup>e</sup> Davis's Hist. of Luton, p. 68.

<sup>h</sup> Britton's Hereford Cath., p. 55. Some of these were bought by Mr. Gough, from whom happily they have passed into the safe custody of J. B. Nichols, Esq. The same gentleman has also a few brasses from St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and several rubbings taken at the beginning of the present century, of brasses which are now lost; see the engravings *supra*, pp. cxxvi.,

cxxxii., cxliii.

<sup>i</sup> Nichols's Leicestershire, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 831.

<sup>k</sup> Allport's Camberwell, p. 129.

<sup>l</sup> Tierney's Hist. and Ant. of Arundel, p. 622.

<sup>m</sup> Owen and Blakeway's Hist. of Shrewsbury, vol. ii. p. 299. Some of the Shrewsbury brasses are probably in the possession of a gentleman in the neighbourhood.

containing several brasses has been 'restored,' as a general rule these monuments have been more or less injured or stolen. This is chiefly owing to a want of proper care being taken at first to protect all objects of value or interest from rough usage or depredation. That this statement is not a mere assumption will be seen from the following instances. It is not many years ago since the brass effigies of Sir William Corbet and lady, 1403, and probably others, at Marcham, Berkshire, when the nave was rebuilt, were sold for five shillings to a builder. During the repairs of Warkworth Church, Northants., in 1841, among other atrocities, "all the brasses of this church, excepting two, were thrown away unheeded, and might have been purchased of the workmen for a pot of beer, until Mr. Danby, the builder, greatly to his credit, buried them for security beneath a large flag-stone in the nave of the church<sup>n</sup>," where they still remain. At Cottingham, Yorks., the fine brass of Nicholas de Louth, founder of the chancel, was recently "torn from the stone in which it was inlaid and thrown aside, while the stone itself was cut up for the purpose of working in with the new uniform paving<sup>o</sup>." The brasses in the church of Flamstead, Herts., were lately taken away as the perquisite of the contractor for the repairs; they have, however, been restored to the parish by order of the Rural Dean, the Rev. D. Jenks. Within the last year or two, at Higham Ferrers, Northants., the brasses were discovered, by a visitor, covered with rubbish; a huge beam had fallen upon that of William Thorpe and wife, and greatly injured it,—in fact, the male effigy had disappeared. At Deddington, Oxon., a clumsy workman had been allowed to wrench off the early brass of a civilian which had been nailed to a pew, and had broken it in two or three pieces<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Beesley's Hist. of Banbury, 1841, p. 612.

<sup>o</sup> Report of Yorkshire Architectural Society, Oct. 5, 1854, printed 1855, p. xx. Ecclesiologist for March, 1854, No. 100.

<sup>p</sup> The author is indebted for this information to Chas. Faulkner, Esq., F.S.A., a resident at Deddington. The same gentleman has in his possession an inscription, of the date 1497, which, during or just after the restorations at Hook Norton Church, Oxon., "was sent by one of the churchwardens (a

farmer) to a blacksmith at Bloxham, for him to mend his plough with. The blacksmith, not being accustomed to work with such materials, sent word to this guardian of the church and its sacred relics that it was of no use, because it was not iron. It was then thrown aside in his shop, from whence it got into the hands of a general dealer in Banbury, of whom Mr. Faulkner bought it for 2s." At the same "restorations," a slab, with an inscription in Lombardic letters, commemorating one of the noble family of the De Ples-

Numerous other instances of a similar kind might easily be adduced, several of which are noticed in the List forming the second part of this volume; it may be sufficient, however, to state that brasses have recently been either lost or mutilated, chiefly during restorations, at the following churches:— Great Barford (?), Milbrook, Beds.; Chigwell, Barking, Essex; Deerhurst, Gloucestershire; St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester; Hereford Cathedral<sup>a</sup>; Buckland, Wormley, Herts.<sup>r</sup>; Paulerspury, Northants.; St. Michael's Coslany, Norwich; Chipping Norton, Lewknor, Oxon.; Okeover, Staffordshire<sup>s</sup>; Carshalton, Cobham, Leigh, Lingfield, Weybridge (?), Surrey, &c. Or if preserved, the brasses are often broken in the removal, and left loose in the parish chest, or sent to the house of the incumbent or churchwarden, where, upon the change of occupiers, they are extremely liable to be lost<sup>t</sup>. That these depredations have been continued to the present day, is proved by almost every page of the following List. It will be found in numerous instances that neither the virtues and rank of the deceased, nor their benefactions to their country or its institutions, have been able to protect their memorials from spoliation. Even the brasses of those who founded and endowed our churches, colleges, and schools, have been allowed to go to ruin under the eyes of those who are daily taught, and sheltered, and fed by their pious bounty<sup>u</sup>.

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sets, was shifted from its position and consigned to a coal-hole under the gallery stairs. The practice, now very common, of unnecessarily removing grave-stones which mark the resting-place of the departed Christian in ages past, cannot be too strongly condemned.

<sup>a</sup> See supra, p. clxiv. Under the present able architect, Mr. Scott, every care is being taken of the monuments in the cathedral.

<sup>r</sup> The brass engraved supra, p. clxxi., was lost at the late restorations.

<sup>s</sup> See supra, p. li. note n. At Chingford, Essex, Oulton, Suffolk, and Kentisbeare, Devon, the churches have lately been broken into and the brasses stolen; see supra, p. cxxvii., cxlii. On the other hand, a few brasses have been replaced in the churches from which they had been removed, as at Gorleston, Suffolk; Bowers Gifford, Essex; Northleigh, Oxon.; St. Nicholas, Warwick.

<sup>t</sup> This was the case with the brasses

of Wm. Bordall, 1435, lately at Chiswick, Middx., Vicar, and founder of the Bell Tower, and of Joan Clerk, 1513, at St. Michael's Coslany, Norwich. See a communication from Mr. J. L'Estrange, in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Ser., vol. vi. p. 284.

<sup>u</sup> See infra, Appendix C. Many of the brasses there cited are in a very dilapidated condition; for instance, that of John Fogg, c. 1490, who built the tower and enlarged the church of Ashford, Kent. See also supra, p. cxxviii. note p. The brasses of John Lyon, founder of Harrow School, and of John Cook, founder of the Crypt School, Gloucester, have been sadly mutilated. The canopies of the brasses of the founders of Trinity Almshouses, Bristol, have disappeared. In Belgium and other parts of the continent the brasses and incised slabs have met with similar, if not worse, treatment. Several instances of their spoliation and desecration are pointed out

It is to be hoped that the present list will contribute in some degree to arrest these depredations; and, by indicating the existing mutilations, and the sources from which many of them may be supplied, will also aid in their restoration. From many brasses small portions only have been stolen; so that they might easily be renewed in their pristine perfectness<sup>x</sup>. It would be something also

in a paper recently read on the subject by Mr. James Weale, of Bruges:—"Depuis 1840, quatre dalles en cuivre ont entièrement disparu; une de celles-ci, une magnifique dalle de la famille Cort-coef, peut-être la plus curieuse dalle funéraire de la Belgique, a été malheureusement aliénée par les fabriciens ou les autorités de la cathédrale de Saint-Sauveur à Bruges, et a probablement été fondue par celui qui l'a achetée; j'ai en ma possession un calque qui en a été fait en Août 1841. Une autre, longtemps exposée chez un marchand, à Auvers, a été sauvée par un Anglais et se trouve actuellement dans un musée à Londres." [See supra, p. xx.] "Elle représente le sire Louis Corteville, 1504, et Dame Colyne Van Caestre, 1496; M. Ch. Onghena, à Gand, possède une autre grande et curieuse dalle, qui représente Léonard Betten, dernier abbé de Saint-Trond, décédé en l'an 1607, probablement une des dernières dalles de cette espèce qui aient été exécutées en Belgique. Il l'a achetée d'un marchand de vieux cuivre, qui allait la fondre; elle pèse plus de 100 kilogrammes. Depuis 1845, une belle dalle en cuivre, représentant Jacques Bave, bourgeois, 1432, avec sa femme Kateline Poltus, 1464, qui se trouvait autrefois dans une chapelle de l'église de Saint-Jacques à Bruges, a été jetée parmi de vieux objets de toute espèce dans une cave à côté de l'église, où elle se trouve actuellement. Depuis 1850 une intéressante dalle en cuivre, portant au bas une inscription de fondation, et représentant la Sainte Trinité avec Jean de Dours et Catherine de Harlebecque, agenouillés avec leurs patrons, a été déplacée de l'église de Saint-Brice à Tournay et reléguée parmi les objets mobiliers hors de service; une autre a disparu de la chapelle paroissiale de la cathédrale à Tournay. . . . à Nieupoort, une trentaine de dalles ont également été jetées hors de l'église: celles-ci se

trouvent maintenant incrustées dans les murailles extérieures, et déjà le vent et la pluie leur ont fait beaucoup de tort. Trois belles dalles en cuivre, qui se trouvaient autrefois dans cette église, sont actuellement entre les mains d'un prêtre à Bruges. . . . Dans les environs de Bruges, à Assebroeck, à Damme et à Ettelghem, il y a des fermes ou de belles dalles, qui ornaient naguère leurs églises, servent à séparer les vaches dans des étables. La plus ancienne dalle à portrait de la Belgique se trouve actuellement dans la basse-cour d'une ferme près de Liège; et d'autres, quoiqu'elles offrent les sujets les plus saints, servent à couvrir des puits ou des égouts." Extrait du Compté-rendu du Congrès Artistique et Archéologique de Gand, 1858, pp. 4—6.

<sup>x</sup> That we have artists at the present day capable of restoring satisfactorily our mutilated memorials, is amply proved by the numerous and appropriate modern brasses (see Appendix A) which have been engraved and laid down within the last five-and-twenty years. The brass of Dr. Davy, 1840, at Caius College, Cambridge, engraved by Mr. Archer, is an early specimen of the revival of this style of monument. See also supra, p. xliii. note u. The brasses of Messrs. Hardman and Messrs. Waller approximate closely to the spirit of the ancient works. These gentlemen have successfully restored several brasses, as at Newton-by-Geddington, Northants., and Baginton, Warwickshire. The brasses of Mr. Archer have a peculiar merit, although they are less like the old examples; the modern dresses are well adapted, a principle which ought always to be followed; it is an evident absurdity to clothe effigies, like the Roman Generals in Westminster Abbey, in dresses which their living originals never wore. It is, however, suggested that when any ancient peculiarities are introduced, such as lions under the feet,

secured if those which are now loose were at once fixed safely<sup>y</sup>, and those preserved at the houses of incumbents, churchwardens, parish-clerks, or others, were replaced in the churches to which they belong. It is not with any desire to impute blame, but simply to make them known to the authorities whose duty it is to watch over these memorials, that as many such instances as possible have been recorded in this volume; in order, as far as may be, to realize the injunctions contained in the proclamation of Queen Elizabeth, before quoted<sup>z</sup>.

If these monuments were worthy of such "princely care" in 1569, the few of them that remain after the lapse of three centuries are surely deserving of some pains to save them from further injury.

"Although it be very hard to recover things broken and spoiled, yet, both to provide that no such barbarous disorder be hereafter used, and to repair as much of the said monuments as conveniently may be, her majesty chargeth and commandeth all manner of persons hereafter, to forbear the breaking or defacing of any parcel of any monument, or tomb, or grave, or other inscription and memory of any person deceased, being in any manner of place; or to break any image of any kings, princes, or nobles, estates of this realm, or of any other, that have been in times past erected and set up, for the only memory of them to their posterity in common churches." "And for such as be already spoiled in any church or chapel now standing, her majesty chargeth and commandeth all archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, or ecclesiastical persons, which have authority to visit the churches or chapels, to enquire by presentments of the curates, churchwardens, and certain of the parishioners, what manner of spoils have been made, sithence the beginning of her

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the rest of the design, as the canopy and inscription, should be, as far as possible, in keeping with them.

<sup>y</sup> Several brasses at Dunstable, Beds., which were loose in the church, were several years ago fastened by the parish-clerk (Mr. Derbyshire) to a board, and thus in all probability saved from spoliation. In refixing brasses, pitch or mastie melted and poured into the matrices should be used, and the plugs or screws employed should be either entirely of brass, or at least brass-headed. In old brasses the plugs were made

large at the end, which was inserted into small holes cut in the slab, made larger at the bottom than at the top, and having small grooves leading from them to the edge of the brass; the slab, with the brass on it, was tilted on one side, and small quantities of lead being poured down the grooves, filled the holes, and fixed the brass firmly to the slab. When a brass is liable to be defaced, from its position in the main thoroughfare of the church, it is desirable it should be protected by matting.

<sup>z</sup> *Supra*, p. celiij.



majesty's reign, of such monuments, and by whom; and, if the persons be living, how able they be to repair, and re-edify the same; and thereupon to convent the same persons, and to enjoin them, under pain of excommunication, to repair the same, by a convenient day. . . . And if the party that offended be dead, and the executors of the will left, having sufficient in their hands unadministered, and the offence notorious, the ordinary of the place shall also enjoin them to repair or re-edify the same, upon like or any other convenient pain, to be devised by the said ordinary. And when the offender cannot be presented, if it be in any cathedral or collegiate church . . . her majesty enjoineth, and straitly chargeth the governors and companies of every such church, to employ such parcels of the said sums of money (as any wise may be spared), upon the speedy repair or re-edification of any such monuments so defaced or spoiled, as agreeable to the original, as the same conveniently may be."







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